

# MID-AMERICA

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### Meat in the Diet of Westward Explorers and Emigrants

Under modern food and nutritional advertising, one appears to be a non-conformist if he does not endorse whole-heartedly the idea that a man is what he eats. As a minion of the meat industry, I wish that this statement were scientifically true, since I should like to credit the achievements of the western pioneers to their meat consumption. But my early training was too basic to accept such a *credo* with a clear conscience, and historians, with whom I associate, assure me that one cannot maintain his amateur standing unless his conscience is clear. Hence if I tell you that this paper is not a contribution to knowledge but merely after-dinner observations based on the days that have been, I will be anticipating by only a few moments, what will certainly be your final opinion.

Yet a certain amount of speculation about the place of meat in the human diet is warranted. The post-Darwinian idea that man is descended from apes which lived in tropical forests, subsisting largely on tubers, buds, fruits, and nuts, plus such occasional insects, worms, lizards, amphibians, and small mammals as could not elude nimble fingers, has had far wider acceptance than it deserves. Students of human evolution soon realized from the nature of his anatomy that man must have descended from plains-living anthropoids, so this romantic vegetarian theory weakened. The digestive tract of plains-dwelling pre-humans required something more nutritive per gram to maintain life than grass and herbs. One of our old-time market reporters at the Chicago stockyards, "Jim" Poole, used to say that "no human ever ate grass except Nebuchadnezzar, and even he failed to make a *one hundred percent success* of it."

Editor's Note: This paper was read at the dinner meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in New York December 27, 1946.

As one studies the domestication of wild animals he comes more and more to the conclusion that pre-historic man was primarily a meat-eater. Man's teeth have never been adapted to managing grass and herbs, though they were able to handle the *flesh* of animals that could do so. It must also be remembered that the earliest discoverable culture of man was founded on hunting, that the pastoral life preceded the cultivator's life, and that man domesticated sheep, cattle, and horses—animals which were readily followed and herded—long before he domesticated swine, which had to be lured by food he supplied, and which even had to be confined and cared for, before they were suitably tamed. In a recent book, *Not By Bread Alone*, Stefansson points out the almost complete dependence of pre-agricultural man on animal food, and shows that it is as characteristic of tropical zones as of temperate or arctic. He believes that human ancestors lived chiefly on the lean and fat of animals for one, or perhaps several, million years before crop cultivation was undertaken. And Ellsworth Huntington, in his *Mainsprings of Civilization*, suggests that agriculture has been positively detrimental, in the sense that it has lowered the *quality* of food, even though it has increased the *quantity*. Most deficiency diseases from inadequate nutrition did not develop evolutionarily until man was partially diverted from his animal diet. We have eaten meat because we liked it, but it is comforting to know that our tastes are backed by sound judgment.

With this preliminary it is easier to sympathize with the following scene in 1841, quoted from Kendall's *The Texan-Santa Fe Expedition*. Kendall and his companions had been seeking a pass through the New Mexico mountains, subsisting on the scantiest and most irregular rations. On the mid-afternoon of the fourteenth day (the second day without food), they fell in with a band of seventeen thousand sheep near the Rio Gallinas. He wrote:

Here a scene of feasting ensued which beggars description. We had been thirteen days upon the road, with really not provisions enough for three, and now that there was an abundance, our starving men at once abandoned themselves to eating—perhaps I should rather call it gormandizing or stuffing. No less than twenty large, fat sheep had been purchased and dressed, and every ramrod, as well as every stick that could be found, was soon graced with smoking ribs and shoulders, livers, and hearts. Many made themselves sick by over-eating; but an attempt to restrain the appetites of half-starved men, except by main force, would be the very extreme of folly. Had the food been anything but *mutton*, and had we not procured



an ample supply of *salt* from the Mexicans to season it, our men might have died from the surfeit.<sup>1</sup>

Among our westward-moving adventurers only the independent trappers made any attempt to live wholly off the country by hunting. These travelled either alone or in pairs. Tales of the game they found—bison, deer, antelope, bear, rabbit, turkey, prairie hen, doves, fish, etc.—need no repetition. But some well planned moves for western supply are significant.

Primitive civilization devised four standard means of retarding decomposition of meat. The drying method was probably the oldest with freezing and salting vying for second place. Finally there was the use of spices. Most American pioneers were of Anglo-Saxon descent, and objected to the highly pungent flavors inherent in the spicing method. These offered no deterrent to Latin-Americans, however, and the avid consumption of partially dried meats treated with peppers and other spices goes back to the Conquistadors. Freezing was used by the Canadian explorers and our "mountain men," but it was limited seasonally, and in addition frozen meat retained too much of its original weight for economical transport during travel. Therefore the drying method was the first popular system of processing along the frontier.

The great fur companies equipped their traders with jerky and pemmican: the former, air-dried or smoke-dried raw meat; the latter, similar meat into which melted fat had been poured. Sometimes dried currants and other wild fruits were mixed with the meat before the addition of fat.

The first reference to jerky in our trans-Mississippi West is found in the records of the Coronado Expedition. The Winship translation states:

They dry the flesh (of the bison) in the sun, cutting it thin like a leaf, and, when dry, they grind it like meal to keep it, and make a sort of sea-soup of it to eat. A handful thrown into a pot swells up so as to increase very much. They season it with fat, which they always try to secure when they kill a cow (bison).<sup>2</sup>

After grinding the meat, the Indians made their pemmican by placing it in a rawhide bag the size of a pillow, hair side out. This bag was filled lightly and fluffily, much like feathers are placed in

<sup>1</sup> George Wilkins Kendall, *The Texan-Santa Fe Expedition*, Chicago, 1929, 355-356.

<sup>2</sup> George Parker Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," *Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1896, Part I, 527-528.

a pillow. Then suet was tried out and poured into the bag so that it covered every shred of the meat. When the sack was filled, the opening was sewed up and the seams rubbed with warm, softened tallow to seal them.<sup>3</sup> While the melted fat was congealing inside the bag, the latter was flattened out to a six or seven inch thickness, so that it could be stacked. Such a bag was known as a *piece* of pemmican, and weighed about ninety pounds, although it might vary from this average, ten pounds either way.

Pemmican was an important item of trade before the advent of the whites, especially in the Northwest, and, after the fur companies began to supply their trappers and *voyageurs* with it, it became the most important food item in prairie commerce. The fat was of great value, both from the standpoint of taste and nutrition. Where prices were quoted, jerky never brought more than half the price of pemmican. Because of its high cost, the use of pemmican was limited to long journeys or to the relief of famine. The cheapest meat, usually freshly killed or frozen, was used first; then came the strips of jerky or pounded meat, both supplemented by fat which was eaten separately, or melted so that the dried meat could be dipped into it; and finally the pemmican itself, which was hoarded longest and eaten last.

Pemmican was by far the favorite meat of the trappers, or "mountain men," who, for all but two weeks of the year, were exclusive meat eaters. Bernard de Voto wrote:

As soon as soldiers and emigrants come into the west they highlight the normal good health of the trappers by developing dozens of ailments—ailments that the trappers never suffered from . . . A good part of the time they were not living on fresh meat. They regularly stopped to "make meat" whenever they encountered a buffalo herd.<sup>4</sup>

Hornaday states:

Out of the enormous waste of good buffalo flesh one product stands forth as a redeeming feature—pemmican. Although made almost exclusively by the half-breeds and Indians of the Northwest, it constituted a regular article of commerce, of great value to overland traders, and was much sought for as long as it was produced. Its peculiar "staying powers," due to the process of its manufacture, which yielded a most nourishing food in a highly condensed form, made it of inestimable value to the overland traveler who must travel light, or not at all.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *Not by Bread Alone*, New York, 1946, 186-187.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>5</sup> William Temple Hornaday, "The Extermination of the American Bison," *Annual Report*, United States National Museum, Washington, 1887, 447.

During the septennium, 1814-1821, a bloody feud was fought between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company that is commonly known as the Pemmican War. The Hudson's Bay Company was a strongly-entrenched London corporation which had been operating since 1670 in the fur trade of North America, by-passing French Canada via the Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay. During its hundred years of monopoly, it tended to become indolent, failed to cultivate its Indian suppliers, and neglected its sources of raw material. Its agents established trading posts, principally at the points most accessible to Europe, and waited for the Indians to bring their pelts to them.

The Northwest Fur Company, on the other hand, was a Montreal corporation, composed of affiliated traders, Canadian and Yankee, who secured their trading stock from Europe, and displayed a youthful aggressiveness which dated only from 1783. Before the older corporation realized it, the younger had bored so deeply into its trade that dividends declined from eight to four percent, and then wholly disappeared from 1809 to 1814. The success of the Northwest Company apparently depended upon the development of the best routes, the strongest travellers, and the most efficient travel methods. The Hudson's Bay Company used European foods, such as salt pork, bacon, hams and cured beef; the Northwest used pemmican. Pemmican was so much lighter and more compact than the European ration that the Northwest employees could make longer journeys and could carry bigger pay loads.

When the Earl of Selkirk, in 1811, attempted to transform the Pembina settlement on the Red River into an agricultural enterprise, the Northwest fur traders concluded this was a move by the Hudson's Bay Company, in the heart of the pemmican country, to destroy the buffalo and to ruin the Northwesters by depriving them of their food supply. A single buffalo produced only a hundred pounds of pemmican, and the Northwest Company required for its servants hundreds of thousands of pounds annually. Its operations could not be continued on the full scale basis, unless it could depend upon its supply in the Red River Valley.

In 1814 the Hudson's Bay Company asserted further authority by forbidding the *exportation* of pemmican from the Red River colony. So the Northwesters had to fight or yield, and they chose to fight. By this time both companies agreed that pemmican was more nourishing for its weight and bulk than European foods, and that pemmican would maintain a man in better health, particularly

by forestalling scurvy. In May, 1816, servants of the Northwest Company attacked and plundered a Hudson's Bay expedition of twenty-two men, going downstream on the Qu-Appelle River in five boats which were loaded with a considerable quantity of furs, and no less than twenty-seven tons of pemmican. About the end of May, MacDonnell, of the Northwesters, moved out with these captured furs and provisions. Twenty-five men of his group under Cuthbert Grant stormed the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post at Brandon House, in Manitoba, and looted it of British supplies, furs, and provisions, as well as the private property of the Hudson Company's servants. Moving east to Portage des Prairies, with a flank guard of Brulé Sioux, the plunder was landed from the canoes. From the six hundred bags of pemmican there was built a rampart or redoubt as a protective measure, armed with two swivel guns. Then on June 18, seventy of the Northwesters set out to attack the Selkirk colony at Pembina near the Red River, where Governor Semple had his headquarters. Michael Heden describes as a massacre what occurred:

Boucher, the Canadian, advanced in front of his party, and, in an insolent tone, desired to know what he (Governor Semple) was about. Mr. Semple desired to know what he and his party wanted. Boucher said he wanted his fort. The governor desired him to go to *his* fort, upon which Boucher said to the governor, "Why did you destroy our fort, you damned rascal?" Mr. Semple then laid hold of the bridle of Boucher's horse, saying, "Scoundrel, do you tell me so?" Upon this Boucher jumped from his horse, and a shot was instantly fired by one of Grant's party of horsemen, which killed Mr. Holt, who was standing near Governor Semple. Boucher then ran to his party, and another shot was fired, by which Mr. Semple was wounded. The governor immediately cried out to his men, "Do what you can to take care of yourselves." But, instead of this, his party appears to have crowded about him, to ascertain what injury he had met with; and, while they were thus collected, the Brulés, who had formed a circle around them, fired a general volley among them, by which the greater part were killed or wounded. Those who were still standing, took off their hats, and called for mercy, but in vain:—the horsemen galloped forward, and butchered them.<sup>6</sup>

This was the most sensational episode of the "Pemmican" War, but for five more years it continued on a cut-throat basis, and ended only through the amalgamation of the two companies.

The manufacture of salted beef, barrelled pork, hams, and bacon for the West Indian trade, which grew up ahead of the American Revolution, provided the principal source of meat supply for the great emigration through the Appalachians into the Ohio River

<sup>6</sup> Stefansson, 224-225.

Valley. Bulk and weight were not as limiting factors as later on the prairies, and the great Conestoga wagons and Ohio flatboats required little distinction as to whether the mess supply was pickled beef or pork, or whether it was the less watery bacon and hams. As the settlements progressed downstream, or along the shores of the Great Lakes, new sources on which the emigrants could draw were rapidly developed, and early travellers and explorers, such as Major Long, Buttrick, Flint, Flower, Woods, Farnham, and Gregg, refer to re-supply with bacon all the way from the upper Allegheny River to Lake Erie, to points in Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, and to river landings along the Missouri from St. Charles to Independence.

One of the first interesting comments on the bacon from these new sources comes from Woods, who called attention to the necessity of drying the bacon thoroughly, since it would not keep in the warm, moist climate of the English Prairie in the Wabash-Ohio region of southeastern Illinois. He particularly commended the use of old wood, nearly rotten, for bacon drying, "as it makes much smoke and but little strong fire."<sup>7</sup> He felt the Americans did not allow sufficient salt for their bacon, but exhibited neither *knowledge* nor *experience* concerning the danger of salty provisions on trails where water supplies were scanty. However, he did recognize the value of its lighter weight.

Emigrants depending on eastern manufactured foods relied on bacon and flour as basic; for example, Farnham en route to Oregon lists his food supplies out of Independence, Missouri, in 1839, as "bacon and flour, salt and pepper, sufficient for four hundred miles . . . secured in sacks."<sup>8</sup> Palmer, six years later advises per emigrant, seventy-five pounds of bacon, two hundred pounds of flour, thirty pounds of pilot bread, and proportionate amounts of rice, coffee, tea, sugar, dried beans, dried fruit, saleratus, corn meal, parched and dried corn, and vinegar.<sup>9</sup> From Independence to Santa Fe Gregg recommended fifty pounds each of bacon and flour, with ten of coffee, twenty of sugar, and a little salt. Beans, crackers, and "trifles of that description" were looked on as *dispensable*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> John Woods, *Two Years Residence in the Settlement on the English Prairie in the Illinois Country of the United States*, London, 1822, 173.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory* (2 vols.), London, 1843, Vol. I, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Joel Palmer, *Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains to the Mouth of the Columbia River*, Cincinnati, 1847, 143.

<sup>10</sup> Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (2 vols., 2d ed.), New York, Vol. I, 35.



In no plans for emigrant trains was bacon considered to be more than an emergency ration, to be drawn upon when game failed. The gold rush placed heavy demands on all usual sources of supply out of Independence and Kanesville, and some of the returning Argonauts felt that the fortunes of California were more quickly discovered in food than in gold dust. Thus Philip D. Armour, founder of the Company with which I am identified, when returning from the gold fields in 1856, stopped at Milwaukee, then the gateway to the West for traffic via the lakes or along their shores. It became the principal outfitting point for emigrants and travellers wishing to avoid the overcrowded southern routes. Mr. Armour briefly visited his home in Stockbridge, New York, and then returned to engage in the supply of bacon, hams, and dry salt pork for this eager trade. In 1859 he entered the firm of Miles & Armour, in 1863 Plankinton & Armour, and in 1867 he opened the firm of Armour and Company in Chicago. Thus tenuously does my physical presence here tonight link up with the meat supply for the westward movement.

While there is naturally much interest in the methods of processing and transporting meat supplies, the romantic side of the story lay in the live animals. Furthermore, these were the domestic animals that travelled with the various expeditions, rather than the bison, deer, or other game with which Buffalo Bill, Pawnee Bill, and Buffalo Jones contracted at a later date to supply work parties. On various occasions along the frontier, hogs, cattle, sheep, mules, and horses provided the meat supply, though the last two were used only in extremity.

When Hernando de Soto left Cuba in 1539, the Gentleman of Elvas points out that the expedition was amply provisioned with "a great many hogs and loaves of cassava bread."<sup>11</sup> Thirteen of the hogs were sows, which in eleven months had increased to three hundred head in romantic Florida, though I have never seen this fact touted by their Chambers of Commerce to offset the competing Bimini stew of Bermuda. By October there were five hundred head, and approximately four hundred perished in the holocaust that accompanied a battle at Mauilla on the Tombigbee River.

In mid-December, 1540, Governor de Soto first fed roast pork to the Indians, at Chicaça, in Pontotoc County, Mississippi. The Gentleman of Elvas was the current society reporter, and quaintly wrote "The Governor invited the caciques and some chiefs to dine

<sup>11</sup> Theodore H. Lewis (ed.). *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, New York, 1907, 145.

with him, giving them pork to eat, which they so relished, though not used to it, that every night Indians would come up to some houses where the hogs slept, a crossbow shot off from the camp, to kill and carry away what they could of them."<sup>12</sup> This new appetite for pork led to the most severe Indian night attack of the entire expedition in March, 1541. Eleven Spaniards, fifty horses, and all of the remaining swine, except a hundred head, perished in the conflict.

A year later, the expedition reached northwestern Arkansas, not far from modern Fort Smith, after which it returned to the Mississippi. During the entire trip, the expedition travelled over three thousand miles, including territory in Florida, Georgia, the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana. The herd of swine not only accompanied it over the whole route, but overcame disastrous attacks like those mentioned. In fourteen months the numbers had recovered from the hundred head of March, 1541, to seven hundred head at the time that "the magnanimous, the virtuous, the intrepid captain, Don Hernando de Soto, Governor of Cuba and Adelantado of Florida,"<sup>13</sup> departed this life, May 21, 1542. (There were press agents in those days also.) When the expedition started for Mexico in July, 1543, the flesh of the remaining pigs, as well as of the poorest horses, had been jerked and carried aboard the brigantines for provisions.

In aggregate tonnage more beef accompanied soldiers and emigrants than either pork or mutton. Various army records of a very interesting nature exist, but the story of cattle with emigrants is confusing, since draught animals and milk cows inextricably mingle with the beeves, even in Jesse Applegate's classic, *A Day With the Cow Column in 1843*. His description of the daily routine is of great interest today. Before 1843 it was widely believed that large herds of cattle could not be driven across country because of the scantiness of the pasturage. However, the party with which the Applegates travelled consisted of more than a thousand persons, with a hundred twenty wagons drawn by *six-ox* teams, and several thousand loose horses and cattle. Emigrants lacking livestock other than draught animals became disgruntled over helping care for them at each camp, also over having to travel across the wide perimeters covered by the large herds during night-grazing, in order to recover their own yokes of oxen each morning. Hence at the Big Blue

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.



River in Kansas, the party broke into a light and a heavy column, with the extra livestock attached to the latter.

Applegate's description of the morning routine is picturesque.

It is four o'clock A. M.; the sentinels on duty have discharged their rifles—the signal that the hours of sleep are over; and every wagon and tent is pouring forth its night tenants, and slowly kindling smokes begin largely to rise and float away on the morning air. Sixty men start from the (wagon) corral, spreading as they make through the vast herd of cattle and horses that form a semi-circle around the encampment, the most distant perhaps two miles away. The herders pass to the extreme verge, and carefully examine for trails beyond, to see that none of the animals have strayed or been stolen during the night . . . By five o'clock the herders begin to contract the great moving circle and the well trained animals move slowly toward camp, clipping here and there a thistle or tempting bunch of grass on the way. In about an hour, five thousand animals are close up to the encampment, and the teamsters are busy selecting their teams and driving them inside the "corral" to be yoked.<sup>14</sup>

When the column started out, promptly at seven o'clock, the herd of cattle followed to the rear and flank. But the herd drivers spent the last quarter of an hour before departure reforming the loose herd, which had been disorganized by cutting out the ox-teams, into a compact organization once more, ready for the day's drive. Applegate describes the appearance from a distance, on a day when he rode with the buffalo hunters seeking the day's provisions.

They (the wagons) form a line three-quarters of a mile in length; some of the teamsters ride upon the front of their wagons, some walk beside their teams . . . Next comes a band of horses, two or three men or boys follow them, the docile and sagacious animals scarce needing this attention, for they have learned to follow in the rear of the wagons, and know that at noon they will be allowed to graze and rest . . . Not so with the large herd of horned beasts that bring up the rear; lazy, selfish, and unsocial, it has been a task to get them in motion, the strong always ready to domineer over the weak, halt in front, and forbid the weaker to pass them. They seem to move only in fear of the driver's whip; though in the morning full to repletion, they have not been driven an hour before their hunger and thirst seem to indicate a fast of days' duration. Through all the long day their greed is never sated nor their thirst quenched, nor is there a moment of relaxation of the tedious and vexatious labors of their drivers, although to all others the march furnishes some seasons of relaxation or enjoyment. For the cowdrivers there is none.<sup>15</sup>

Speaking further of the group of hunters and their daily assign-

<sup>14</sup> Jesse Applegate, *A Day With the Cow Column in 1843*, (Joseph Schafer, ed.), Chicago, 1934, 5-6.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

ment of foraging meats, slaughter of the animals in the accompanying herd proved always a last resort in emigrant trains. Too often they knew nothing of the food supplies in that imaginary region of future happiness and contentment beyond the place where the sun went down. So they conserved their beeves to the bitter end, and welcomed the one type of cooperation which the travelling herd extended to them—luring the estrays from buffalo herds that frequently remained to graze among their cattle in the morning.

An incident of cattle slaughter near Fort Hall on the Snake River illustrates the rugged, simple, slapstick humor of the day.<sup>16</sup> An ox was slaughtered about a hundred yards outside the fort's wall, and the entrails left in the warm sun until the paunch was distended to the size of a large barrel. With the fertile imagination of youth, the boys devised a game of running and butting their heads against the paunch, which bounced them back in proportion to the force of contact. Soon a rivalry developed as to which boy could recoil the furthest. One long-necked, lanky boy, with a closely cropped head, experienced the expected calamity, penetrating the membrane instead of rebounding. His previous efforts had been so prodigious that the other boys all egged him on his final plunge with the yell, "Give her goss, Andy!" Fortunately his competitors rescued him before he smothered, but the youthful admonishment followed him through life. Years later Andy Baker was elected sheriff of Yamhill County, Oregon, on the campaign slogan, "Give her goss, Andy!"

Lore of the emigrant trail and the explorer is too abundant to retail anything but illustrative incidents of the meat supply on such an occasion as tonight. Since my major studies have been with sheep, I shall use them for the remaining events to be discussed in this paper. When the army became an essential factor in western pacification, but before roads were available, the problem of meat supply in a fast-moving campaign was not simple. During the Mexican War, sheep solved this problem better than cattle, and had it not been for the rather general distaste for mutton, the entire problem of meat rations would have been greatly simplified. Sheep had convenient speed. Years later, drivers trailing flocks from the Pacific Coast to the "Territories" learned that sheep travelled faster than the other species and overcame far more readily the broad intervals without water, and the vastnesses of sand, alkali, and sage. When mixed bands of the three species left the Coastal States, the horses led the way for the first few hundred miles, with the longer

<sup>16</sup> Jesse A. Applegate, *Recollections of My Boyhood* (Joseph Schafer, ed.), Chicago, 1934, 59–60.

striding cattle in front of the sheep. Then the feet of the heavier animals became tender, and they had to rest at the waterholes to rehydrate their tissues and regain their flesh. But while the larger stock recuperated, the sheep went on, nibbling grass or browse with each step. Characteristically they became the first to reach the hallowed spot of western romance, "the end of the trail."

Sheep had other advantages as self-transportable meat rations. Wherever feed was available they grazed as they marched, snatching a bite with each step. Therefore they would not reach the campground each day as quickly as cattle but, when they arrived, they were ready, after watering, to bed down and rest. Cattle, on the other hand, had to spend most of the night on their feet, hunting their pasturage, so that they never got their fill, nor could they lie quietly to chew their cuds and convert their feed into flesh. During a storm, cattle would stampede through the sentry lines and scatter, while sheep would drift before it, bunched together, and easily recovered. When feed and water were scarce, cattle would cover the horizon in vain search, and many valuable morning hours were spent by troops in gathering them and getting them under way. If predatory animals or marauding Indians attacked cattle at night, the herd stampeded and scattered to points where they could be killed or driven off with impunity. Sheep, on the other hand, were accustomed to human protection, and, when surprised, ran instinctively toward camp or their herders. In rare instances, this instinct was so strong that the rear of a frightened flock forced the leaders into the blaze of a campfire.

Many details are available on the use of sheep in the ration of the Mormon Battalion under Captain Philip St. George Cooke, en route from Santa Fe to California. Below Socorro, the column purchased its first sheep, three hundred head, "very poor—about half of them lambs, almost worthless."<sup>17</sup> The next day Lieutenant Smith purchased eighty more for a hundred dollars to make up for the lack of quality. What was more important, Cooke hired three Mexican shepherds to care for them, while the beeves were left to the mercies of the battalion's butchers by day and the sentries by night. When they reached the Colorado River, despite the long days following the barren Gila, they had a hundred thirty sheep on hand, and there were still eighty when they reached Warner's Ranch in California. No credit is given to the skill of those Mexican herders, but if the sheep deserved the epithets which Captain Cooke bestowed

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<sup>17</sup> Ralph B. Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails*, Glendale, 1938, 84.

on them at the Rio Grande (and they probably did), think what attention they must have had on the grasses of the Continental Divide, for after the deserts east and west of Yuma, Cooke was still able to exchange the last eighty for twenty fat bullocks from Colonel Jonathan Warner's herd.

The discovery of gold in California repeated moves for shepherds and stockmen that had been characteristic of new mining country ever since the days of Cortés. Hundreds of thousands of miners and adventurers poured into a region which had previously maintained only a few wandering tribes of Indians and still smaller numbers of retainers at the missions and *ranchos*. The demand for food became enormous. Sheep worth seventy-five cents to a dollar per head rose to twelve or fifteen dollars during the summer of 1849.

Probably the first man to recognize the opportunity was Judge Antonio José Otero,<sup>18</sup> uncle of New Mexico's governor from 1897 to 1906, Miguel Antonio Otero. Judge Otero sent his younger brother (the governor's father), and Antonio José Luna, his business representative (who was father of New Mexico's most constructive wool grower at the turn of the century, Solomon Luna), with approximately twenty-five thousand sheep, in a close succession of ten bands, all the way to the gold fields. Starting from La Constancia, in Valencia County, they followed the approximate route of the Sante Fe Railway across Arizona, skirted southern Nevada, moved up the Mohave River in California, crossed Tehachapi Pass, and then drove down the valleys to the north. Their individual bands were separated by only two or three miles, each being attended by three herders with their dogs. In the gold fields the sheep brought ten to twenty-five dollars per head, depending on the hunger of the prospectors and the supply of "dust."

By the spring of 1850 numerous flock-owners in New Mexico were preparing to follow the Otero-Luna example, and soon thousands of sheep and cattle were enroute. No compilations exist as to the number of these animals, but incidental letters and travellers' references indicate that a dozen or more expeditions may have terminated successfully. In 1851 at least twenty prominent New Mexican families were involved in the trade, and in 1852 came the classic drive of Uncle Dick Wootton, famed keeper of the toll road over the Raton Pass on the Colorado-New Mexico line. He left Taos, New Mexico, with nine thousand sheep, following the Rio Grande to the Continental Divide, thence down the Uncompahgre,

<sup>18</sup> Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1882*, New York, 1935, 282.

and other tributaries into Grand River (now called the Colorado), then across Utah via Spanish Fork, American Fork, Bingham Canyon, Tooele, and the desert, to Ibspah in Nevada. Thereafter he worked northward to the Humboldt and Carson rivers, crossed the Sierras to the American River, and proceeded down it to Elk Grove, twelve miles from Sacramento. Here the flock was wintered, and the following spring he sold eighty-nine hundred head, a net loss of only one hundred animals, which provided a record of cross-country driving without parallel. His gross return exceeded fifty thousand dollars.

Through 1852, more than a hundred thousand sheep were trailed to the "diggin's," and the next year the numbers were even greater. The big name of the year was Kit Carson who, with Lucien Maxwell of Maxwell Grant fame in New Mexico, drove over thirteen thousand sheep from the Rio Grande Valley below Santa Fe to Sacramento. By paying an anticipated passage toll to the Indian tribes whose country they crossed, they completed the trip without untoward incidents. Carson's widely advertised career set all California agog, for the newspapers kept announcing his location, progress, and probable date of arrival. The flocks were purchased by a San Francisco merchant, Samuel Norris, at \$5.50 per head. This grossed over sixty thousand dollars, and Kit's half gave him the nest-egg of financial independence which he had been seeking.

But the drive that yielded *records* of sheep-trailing problems was the Flint-Bixby expedition of the same year.<sup>19</sup> This was the first season of big drives out of the Mississippi Valley, and flocks from Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Missouri, all set forth. The largest was nine thousand head of Ohio Merinos driven by Col. W. W. Hollister, for whom the city of Hollister, California, was named, but one to three thousand head each were handled by James Moore, the Wilson Brothers, Thomas Hildreth, the Flint Brothers with Llewellyn Bixby, and several others.

Trailing flocks from New Mexico to California presented no unfamiliar problems, but trailing from the Midwest by the northern route was another story. The sheep of the Southwest were customarily handled in bands of one to three thousand head, and moved out readily on the trail, bedding down at night according to regular custom. Bands traversing the northern routes, however, were gathered from Midwest farms having only ten to two hundred head.

<sup>19</sup> Thomas Flint, *Diary*, Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1923.



They were strange to each other, were comprised of mixed breeds and instincts, and knew nothing of cross-country droving. Much of the distance from the Mississippi River to the mountains had to be covered before the bands were "trail-broken."

Trials of the Gold Rush have been publicized, but trials of the sheep trails are little known. Western adventure was just as keen with a flock of sheep as with a wagon train, and the protection of a band of sheep was more difficult than the protection of women and children, for sheep had a blinder faith in their leaders. A few illustrations of the hazards, taken from Dr. Flint's diary, will serve to close this paper.

River crossings were always a problem. Bridges were practically non-existent, and there were only three substitutes, ferries, fords, and swimming. At Keokuk, Iowa, the tolls for the two thousand head ferried were sixty-two dollars. The Missouri was crossed by a flat boat propelled by oars, and the charge was only fifty-seven dollars, but two days were required for the passage as the boat could transport only a hundred-fifty head each trip. The party had to be split to protect the bands on each bank, an inconvenience even though the Indian menace close to the river was no longer important. At the Elkhorn River in Nebraska the ferry keeper demanded only \$41.80, but a few days later at the Loup the charge mounted to one hundred dollars, so that the doctor thereafter swam or forded the flock. At the Green River in western Wyoming, the ferry owner held quite exalted views as to the value of his services, since he told Dr. Flint that he knew sheep were not good swimmers. A brief reconnaissance downstream disclosed a passable ford if the wagon beds were slightly raised. Taking advantage of the current, Flint succeeded in getting the sheep to follow the wagons, and landed them safely on the other bank after a two-hundred foot swim.

Forcing these eastern flocks to swim was no small task. On the Virjen River in southern Utah it proved necessary to cross the stream several times. Quoting Dr. Flint:

As there were thirteen crossings to make ahead, I took charge of the sheep; the men with the sheep (being) weary and out-of-sorts, having had but little sleep . . . The first crossing we came to, the sheep stopped, but I thought if we pressed them quietly, the leading ones would swim across; therefore directed the shepherds not to make any noise, and to keep the dogs quiet also. In a little while the leader waded in, when the men began to shout and the dogs to bark, whereupon every sheep turned back to see what was up. It was my turn to get mad, apparently, so (I) gave them a good swearing

for not obeying orders. They were grouchy so, when the next attempt was made, they sullenly stood by at the places I put them, whilst I quietly worked the sheep, the outer ones crowding the ones at the edge of the water, and in a short time, being in the water, they broke for the opposite side, and there was no further delay.

Another problem the drover faced early on the trail was the trading of foot-sore stock. Just west of Scott's Bluff in Nebraska, the Flints and Bixby passed a trading post run by a half-breed Sioux where, Flint writes, "money is made by picking up lame stock or buying it cheaply, and keeping it until it is in good condition, and then selling or trading again. Their price (is) four to ten dollars for cattle, and a dollar for a sheep if it is fat." Near American Fork in Utah they were approached by the Mormons, "numbers of whom," he said, "are in camp, offering to barter for worn-out sheep, groceries, or anything."

Indians, stampedes, and straying all played their usual part, the injuries from stampedes occurring when crazed horses and cattle charged into the frightened flocks. Just before Christmas in 1853, Flint discovered that eighty-seven of Colonel Hollister's sheep had strayed to his band, while a hundred seventy-five of his own had joined Hollister. Dry drives were also a problem, for between one isolated water hole and the next, in western Wyoming, southern Utah, Nevada, and the Mohave Desert in California, the flock would become very disquieted and nervous. From the Virjen River to Las Vegas in Nevada they had a waterless drive of fifty-three miles, and in the center of the Mohave Desert another of more than forty-seven miles.

Alkali waters and poisonous plants were unforeseen by men from the East. Beyond Fort Laramie these problems became urgent. Minor occurrences all the way across Wyoming resulted first in the loss of three head to alkali water, then five to poisonous plants, and finally seven to poison near Independence Rock. Approaching the Sevier River in Utah several sheep showed poison symptoms, but Dr. Flint saved them all by pouring warm lard down their throats. Near Fillmore, Utah, another kind of poison killed fifteen head, while a hundred were spread out over the ground in spasms. Colonel Hollister lost eighty-six head here.

Finally, I cannot help but acknowledge my failure to do more than recount incidents. I recognize the premise of the interpretive historian, who reports his studies in terms of detached trends and social or economic forces. But in reading him, I often find that his interpretation seems opinionated, while his authorities are ulti-



mately based on the type of incidents reported tonight. There is some advantage in letting the incidents stand for themselves; there is also danger that without interpretation they become mere folklore. I hope you will realize that my own attempt is merely to present a cross-sectional view of the job of caring for the pioneer appetite.

When one tries to re-live any early scene, his curiosity leads him into all sorts of adventure and hazard. But this talk wears a dietary disguise, so I shall close with a plug for meat eating, of recent date, which as you can discern from my contours, has taken care of me personally over one man's lifetime:

COLONEL EDWARD N. WENTWORTH

Armour's Livestock Bureau  
Chicago

## French Priests in Western Pennsylvania, 1739-1759

Historians have dealt at some length with the brief French military occupation of Western Pennsylvania during the French and Indian war. But with the soldiers there were priests, and a unified story of their labors has never been told. It is a story having more than the artificial unity suggested by the geographical term, Western Pennsylvania. It forms a part of the narrative of France's struggle for a convenient highway to bind her Canadian possessions to the Ohio valley and Louisiana. That highway was the Allegheny River, whose tributaries, French Creek and Conewango Creek, were reached by portages from Presqu'Isle and Barcelona, on Lake Erie.

Our chief concern will be with the activities of the priests along this route as far south as the mouth of the Beaver River, twenty-five miles below the forks of the Ohio, from the time of the Longueuil expedition against the Chickasaw in 1739 to the ill-fated attempt of De Ligneris, proceeding from Ft. Machault, to relieve the siege of Ft. Niagara in 1759. Except for these twenty years, there seems to be no authenticated report of any priest's having set foot in Western Pennsylvania, that is, any part of Pennsylvania drained by the Ohio River system. During these two decades at least nine are known to have been in the region: the Jesuits De la Bretonnière, De Bonnécamps, and Virot; the Recollects Vernet, Anheuser, Baron, and Collet; the Sulpician Dépéret; and the secular Forget du Verger. Activities of these priests outside the territory defined will be treated but briefly and only by way of rounding out their biographies or in presenting their operations in the light of their proper historical setting.

For nearly twenty years before the Longueuil expedition the French had been using the Allegheny route in trading with the Shawnee Indians of Pennsylvania, but it was not until 1739 that a large party undertook a journey through that region.<sup>1</sup> The en-

<sup>1</sup> Some idea of the extent of the French trade with the Indians may be obtained from E.-Z. Massicotte's report of nearly forty engagements with voyageurs to make the trip to the "Shawnee village" from 1735 to 1744: "Répertoire des engagements pour l'Ouest conservés dans les Archives Judiciaires de Montréal," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* (RAPQ) pour 1929-1930, Québec, 1930, 191-466.

terprise of that year is of interest to us because of the participation of three priests: De la Bretonnière, Vernet, and Dépéret.

Father de la Bretonnière, who is perhaps the first priest to offer Mass in Western Pennsylvania, was born at Bayeux, France, on May 4, 1689, and entered the novitiate in Paris on September 20, 1710. Following his noviceship he taught for several years and studied theology at the colleges of La Flèche and of Louis-le-Grand. He arrived at Quebec in 1721.<sup>2</sup>

In that year or in 1725 he began missionary work at Sault St. Louis under the direction of Father Pierre de Lauzon and settled himself to learn Iroquois.<sup>3</sup> Three years later, he took part in the expedition against the Fox as chaplain of the Caughnawaga Iroquois.<sup>4</sup> This expedition, which set out on June 5, 1728, returned by the end of September, and Father de la Bretonnière resumed his duties at Caughnawaga. In 1732, when Father de Lauzon was appointed superior-general of the Canadian Jesuit missions, Father de la Bretonnière was put in charge of the Sault. A letter written by Father Luc-François Nau to Father Bonin describes the daily routine at Caughnawaga and the activities of Father de la Bretonnière during this period.<sup>5</sup> The civilizing process was greatly impeded by prolonged absences of the braves on their hunts and on the warpath. In addition, they were often called upon to share in the French military expeditions. In 1736 they took a prominent part in the abortive attempt of the French to put an end to English-inspired Chickasaw uprisings in the Tennessee country. French attacking forces coming up from Louisiana and down from Illinois failed to unite. The whole party might have been annihilated had it not been for the bravery of the Indians of Sault St. Louis. The engagement is memorable for the deaths of the Illinois commander, Pierre d'Artaguet, and Vincennes, brother-in-law of Jolliet, who were fortified and joined in death at the stake by Father Antoine Sénat, S.J., who spurned a chance to escape and led the Frenchmen in prayers and the singing of hymns as the flames consumed them.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1906, I, 190, n. 2; II, 25, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The date 1925 is given by E. J. Devine, S.J., in *Historic Caughnawaga*, Montreal, 1922, 192.

<sup>4</sup> This expedition is described in a letter of Father Crespel, January 10, 1742, cited in Rochemonteix, I, 190.

<sup>5</sup> Nau to Bonin, October 2, 1735, in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, 1896-1901; hereinafter quoted as *JR*, 68: 260-285.

<sup>6</sup> J. Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana (1700-1763)* Washington, D. C., 1935, 305-308.

When the survivors of this disaster had finally returned home to Canada, plans were laid for another concerted attempt against the Chickasaw. An expedition was organized under the leadership of Baron de Longueuil, nephew of Bienville, governor of Louisiana. The party totalled 442 men, of whom 319 were Indians. The chaplain of the soldiers was Father Vernet, a Recollect about whom nothing is known to the present writer; the chaplains for the Indians were "Father La Bretonnière, Jesuit missionary of the Iroquois at the Sault," and "M. Queret, Priest and missionary of the savages from the Lake of Two Mountains."<sup>7</sup> Father Vitry, Jesuit chaplain with the Louisiana troops says that "most of the Indians from Canada are Christians. Two missionaries came with them, the Sulpician M. du Perret, and the Jesuit Father de la Bretonnière. The troops from Canada have a Recollect Father for their chaplain."<sup>8</sup> This spelling of the Sulpician's name is probably more correct than the one previously given as Queret, permitting identification with the Sulpician Élie Déperet, who is listed by Tanguay as having been skilled in Indian languages and as having been charged by the King of France to accompany the Indians on their expeditions.<sup>9</sup>

The Longueuil roster included no fewer than 166 Iroquois of the village of the Sault, fifty-one Iroquois from the Lake of the Two Mountains, thirty-two Algonkin and Nipissings, probably from the same mission, and fifty Abnaki of the villages of St. Francis and Bécancour. In letters to the minister of the marine, both Governor Beauharnois and the intendant, Hocquart, ascribed the large turnout of the Iroquois to the efforts of Father de Lauzon.<sup>10</sup> As early as 1729 Father de Lauzon had asked for more help for his Caugh-

<sup>7</sup> The roster will be found in S. K. Stevens and D. H. Kent, eds., *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil*, mimeographed, Harrisburg, 1940, 13-15.

<sup>8</sup> "The Journal of Father Vitry, S.J.," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVIII (January 1946), 42.

<sup>9</sup> C. Tanguay, *Répertoire général du clergé canadien*, Quebec, 1868, gives as the date of Father Déperet's birth July 28, 1691, at Limoges. He arrived in Canada August 22, 1714, was ordained September 21, 1715, and served at Pointe-Claire from 1718 to 1721. He died April 17, 1757, at Ste Anne du Bout de l'Île. A more extended account is given in J. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages*, Washington, D. C., 1888, 55. He gives the date of Déperet's birth as 1690 and his name as Père Élie, rather than Pierre-Élie, as in Tanguay. He adds that Father Déperet was missionary to the Algonkins at Île aux Tourtes, then at Lac des Deux Montagnes, then at La Galette (now Ogdensburg), where he replaced Abbé Piquet during the latter's visit to France in 1753-1754. He cites several catechetical and linguistic works prepared by Father Déperet in the Algonquian and Iroquois languages.

<sup>10</sup> Beauharnois to Maurepas, June 30, 1739, cited in *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil*, 9; Hocquart to Maurepas, September 30 [October 30?], 1739, *ibid.*, 11.

nawaga mission, but was refused and accused of carrying on an illicit trade. When he returned to the Sault he was physically affected and his death in 1742 was thereby hastened.<sup>11</sup>

The priests of the expedition must have found stimulating the company of a number of young officers destined to play important roles in Western Pennsylvania and Canadian history, among them Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, who became the first man to construct an adequate map of the Ohio River system. He had entered the *petit séminaire* of Quebec at the age of ten.<sup>12</sup> Probably he took what the Jesuits had to give in hydrography and cartography. At any rate, his father, who was chief engineer of New France, supplemented this teaching with his private instruction and obtained for him the post of assistant engineer when he was but eighteen years years of age, on the occasion of the organization of the Longueuil expedition.<sup>13</sup>

The party of avengers, setting forth in June, took the route along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, past the English Ft. Oswego. The Indians had promised to leave English whiskey alone, but about seventy Abnaki and some of the Iroquois from the Lake of Two Mountains found the temptation too strong. They deserted.<sup>14</sup> By the fourth of August the expedition arrived at the outlet of Lake Erie, above the Falls, and soon thereafter reached the Chautauqua portage. This ten-mile trek up Chautauqua Creek to the lake lying about 730 feet above Lake Erie must have been arduous in August for a military outfit carrying enough provisions for a sixteen hundred mile journey.

In his *Journal* of 1754, when De Léry was again at Chautauqua, he indicates the camp site of the 1739 expedition at the head of the lake.<sup>15</sup> From here their route led down Conewango Creek into the Allegheny River at the present site of Warren, Pa. Father de Bonnécamps' journal of the Céloron expedition which followed the

<sup>11</sup> Rochemonteix, II, 20 f., 246, 256.

<sup>12</sup> See Lucy Elliot Keeler, "Old Fort Sandoski of 1745 and the 'Sandusky Country,'" *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, 17 (1908), 357-430; a portrait of De Léry on page 365.

<sup>13</sup> De Léry to Maurepas, October [20?], 1739, in P.-G. Roy, ed., *Inventaire des papiers De Léry conservés aux Archives de la Province de Québec*, 3 vols., Québec, 1939-1940, II, 3-8.

<sup>14</sup> Hocquart to Maurepas, September 30 [October 30?], 1739, in *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil*, 10.

<sup>15</sup> *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil*, frontispiece. On page 4 of the same work his map of the Ohio is reproduced. It is also found in J. Reynolds, *In French Creek Valley*, Meadville, 1938, 18. As recently as 1937, a *Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 131-137, definitely settled the date of the survey as 1739 instead of 1729, the method of cartography as "compass," the cartographer as De Léry fils, not père.



same route ten years later is discussed below and gives a good idea of the experiences of the Longueuil party in Pennsylvania. For the early part of the 1739 journey De Léry's diary has been lost, but his diary for the later part indicates that the priests were saying Mass often.<sup>16</sup> Thus it may be inferred that they said Mass more than once in passing through Pennsylvania. The supposition is strengthened by the fact that there was little danger of attack by a large enemy force. These Masses may well have been the first offered in Western Pennsylvania. Whether the honor of the first belongs to a Recollect, Jesuit, or a Sulpician, we have no way of knowing. From the diary of Father de Bonnécamps, we know that the Céloron expedition of 1749 required about two weeks to travel from Chautauqua Lake near the New York border to Logstown near the Ohio border, so we may safely infer that the Longueuil expedition must have been in Pennsylvania on at least one Sunday, when Mass certainly would have been said. However, unlike Céloron, who could afford to proceed leisurely, holding many councils with the Indians along the Allegheny and Ohio, Longueuil had an appointment to fulfill in the Chickasaw country. Even so, he probably found time to stop at Broken Straw village (Irvine), at the Delaware village of Attigué (Kittaning), and at the Shawnee village presided over by the French-Shawnee trader, Peter Chartier, on the west bank of the Allegheny near the present-day Tarentum.<sup>17</sup> The French government in Canada, fearful of English influence, had tried to persuade these Indians to move farther west. So it is likely that if we had the early part of De Léry's diary we would read that the expedition stopped at Chartier's Town, distributed presents to the Indians, and held a council in which they again urged the Shawnee to move westward under the protecting arm of their French father.<sup>18</sup>

Somewhere along the Ohio or Allegheny the party probably

<sup>16</sup> "Journal de la campagne faite par le détachement du Canada sur les Chicachas en février 1740 . . .," is published in *RAPQ*, 1922-1923, 157-165. De Léry indicates that Mass was said on several stops along the Ohio.

<sup>17</sup> Chartier and his group were settled by Beauharnois on the Vermilion River in the Wabash country in 1745. See A. A. Lambing, "Céloron's Journal," *Historical Researches*, 2 (1886), 109, note 11.

<sup>18</sup> But on August 1 the Shawnee had promised the governor of Pennsylvania never to join a nation hostile to the English. In an address to the assembly January 23, 1740, Governor Thomas warned that a considerable body of French, "in conjunction with a body of Indians, made a longer march a few months ago to attack some nations of Indians to the southward than will be necessary to bring them even to this city." *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (hereinafter cited as *Colonial Records*), 16 vols., Philadelphia, 1852-1853, IV, 380 f.

stopped to acquire an additional hundred Iroquois warriors which Hocquart had engaged to join the expedition along the way.<sup>19</sup> From Céloron's journal we know that Longueuil did stop at Logstown and at the mouth of the Scioto, where there was a Shawnee village whose warriors seem to have been willing to accompany him.<sup>20</sup> Two items of anthropological interest attracted the attention of the young De Léry on the journey. The first was the group of Indian petroglyphs at the mouth of the Little Beaver Creek.<sup>21</sup> The second was the discovery of the remains of huge prehistoric animals at Big Bone Lick, in the present state of Kentucky, a record of which he has left on his map of the Ohio.<sup>22</sup>

Much to the disgust of the French back home, the expedition accomplished virtually nothing. On August 15, 1739, Bienville set up camp at Fort Assumption (Memphis), where he was joined shortly afterwards by La Buissonnière of Illinois, Céloron of Detroit, and lastly Longueuil.<sup>23</sup> Exhausted from the strain of their long trip and the heavy burden of military supplies, the Canadians waited until February 1, 1740, before going to the attack under the direction of Céloron. The Chickasaw quickly sued for peace, which Bienville granted in April. Then the Louisiana governor set fire to Fort Assumption and returned to New Orleans, taking his nephew Longueuil with him and leaving the Chickasaw free to recommence their forays against the whites. It appears from a letter of Father Nau to his mother (October 2, 1740) that Father de la Bretonnière accompanied Bienville. Father Nau writes: "Father de la Bretonnière, who accompanied our Indians on this expedition, returned to France by way of the Mississippi. I don't believe he will return to Canada." But Father Nau was mistaken, for Father de la Bretonnière did return to Quebec and was named superior of Montreal in 1743.<sup>24</sup>

In 1750, he was appointed to replace Father Tournois as head

<sup>19</sup> Hocquart to Maurepas, September 30 [October 30?], 1739, *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil*, 10.

<sup>20</sup> "Céloron's Journal," *Historical Researches*, II (1886), 145 f.

<sup>21</sup> Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, 2 vols., New York, 1911, II, 82.

<sup>22</sup> "... où il [Longueuil] a fait mettre Les Armes du Roy en 1739." This appears to be the first mention by the French of their official claim to the river. See *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil*, 5.

<sup>23</sup> The events at Ft. Assumption are treated in detail in Father Vitry's *Journal*, cited above.

<sup>24</sup> Nau to his mother, October 2, 1740, quoted in Rochemonteix, II, 25, n. 2. Father Devine in *Historic Caughnawaga*, 234, says: "A false rumor was spread that he would go back to France by way of New Orleans and might not return to Canada."



of the Caughnawaga mission, but the Indians sent word that they preferred Father Floquet, so the appointment was changed accordingly.<sup>25</sup> We can only guess as to the motive behind the Indians' choice. Perhaps Father de la Bretonnière was a bit too strict for their liking. From 1752 till his death on August 1, 1754, he was confessor at the college of Quebec.<sup>26</sup>

Longueuil's expedition was the first recorded visit by white men in the Ohio valley, but Father Mermet, Jesuit, reported English trading forts on the Ohio and Mississippi as early as 1715.<sup>27</sup> After 1740 the number of English traders in the Ohio valley rapidly increased. Enjoying many competitive advantages over the French traders, with the help of such envoys as George Croghan and Conrad Weiser they encouraged a concentration of Indian population in the region just below the forks of the Ohio. Foreseeing the development of this territory, a company of Virginia gentlemen under the leadership of Lawrence Washington formed the Ohio Land Company in 1749 and asked the grant of a half million acres.

Seeing that control of the Allegheny and Ohio meant control of the West, the Marquis de la Galissonnière, New France's energetic governor-general, notified the governor of Pennsylvania to keep English traders out of the region west of the Alleghany Mountains. To back up his threat with action he dispatched Céloron de Blainville in the summer of 1749 with an expedition designed to sweep out all trade rivals and to prepare the way for military occupation of the whole route from Montreal to the Mississippi by way of the forks of the Ohio. The chaplain of the expedition was the Jesuit Father Joseph Pierre de Bonnécamps.<sup>28</sup>

The study and teaching of science and mathematics were the whole absorption of Father de Bonnécamps in New France when he was not on exploring parties. Born at Vannes on September 7, 1708, he entered the Jesuit novitiate in Paris on November 3, 1727. Following his philosophy at La Flèche, he taught at Caen and Vannes, and made his theology at Louis-le-Grand College, Paris. At the completion of his course in 1743 he left for Quebec, where

<sup>25</sup> Some time between 1743 and 1749, Father de la Bretonnière must have returned to Sault St. Louis. Devine, *Historic Caughnawaga*, 251, says "Father de la Bretonnière, associated with Tournois for several years at Caughnawaga, was named to succeed him, but the Indians insisted . . . etc." *JR*, 69: 77 lists him as "among the Iroquois" in 1749.

<sup>26</sup> Rochemonteix, I, 190 f, n. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Letter of Father Mermet to —, 1715, cited in *The Wilderness Trail*, I, 18; II, 131.

<sup>28</sup> Biographical notes on Father de Bonnécamps are given in *JR*, 69: 288, 70: 82, 71: 174.

he was made professor of hydrography. There he made his profession of the four vows on December 8, 1746.<sup>29</sup>

It was in June of 1749 that Father de Bonnécamps received the commission to accompany Céloron on an expedition fated to receive much more historical attention than the earlier and no less important journey of Longueuil. Céloron's activities have been treated fully by Lambing, Marshall, Galbreath, and others; and a critical analysis of their studies would be out of place here. We shall rather concentrate on the part played by Father de Bonnécamps, adding other notes only if they seem to clarify or correct what has already been written.<sup>30</sup>

The purpose of the expedition is clearly set forth in the following letter of La Galissonnière to the minister of the marine, June 26, 1749:

I have ordered Sieur de Céloron to take anew possession of the Belle Rivière [Ohio], and I have charged him to make a thorough survey of it and to determine what forts can be established on its banks. I have given him as chaplain the Reverend Father de Bonnécamps, Jesuit mathematician, who will be able to make more complete and detailed reports than have yet been given of that country and the route which the detachment will follow.<sup>31</sup>

As early as October of the previous year Father de Bonnécamps had ordered new equipment for his course in navigation through the intendant Bigot: he requested a clock showing seconds, a telescope, a quadrant three feet in radius with a telescopic sight instead of sight-vanes, and a lodestone. Rochemonteix says: "The quadrant did not arrive at Quebec until after the voyage down the Ohio; consequently his observations did not have the precision desired."<sup>32</sup>

Céloron's first entry states that he went out from La Chine on the fifteenth of June with a detachment composed of one captain,

<sup>29</sup> Rochemonteix, II, 74, n. 3.

<sup>30</sup> C. B. Galbreath, *Expedition of Céloron to the Ohio Country in 1749*, Columbus, 1921, contains an article republished from the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* of October, 1920, along with journals of Céloron and De Bonnécamps and Father Lambing's critical notes on Céloron's *Journal* published in various numbers of *Historical Researches*, 1884-1886. Also included are the critical notes of O. H. Marshall from the *Magazine of American History*, II, 129-150.

<sup>31</sup> Rochemonteix, II, 74.

<sup>32</sup> Bigot to Maurepas, October 9, 1748, *ibid.*, 75. De Bonnécamps himself distrusted the accuracy of his observations of distance and direction because of the weakness of his compass, the alternations of river currents, the motions of waves and rowers. Thus it is not surprising that his latitudes are often wrong by several minutes, although his map is reasonably close to the actual course of the Ohio. For a discussion of the map, see *JR*, 69: 294. There are good reproductions in Galbreath's work and in Archer Hulbert, *The Ohio River, A Course of Empire*, New York, 1906, 26.

six cadets, eight subaltern officers, one chaplain, twenty soldiers, 180 Canadians, and about thirty Indians, there being as many Iroquois as Abnaki. Prominent among the officers were Contrecoeur, later commander-in-chief of all French forces in Western Pennsylvania, the Joncaire brothers, and De Villiers. Journals of this trip by way of Chautauqua Lake and the Allegheny were kept by both Céloron and Father de Bonnécamps.<sup>33</sup>

Ascending the dangerous rapids, most of the twenty-three canoes were badly damaged on the second day, and on the third day out, the canoe of one of the Joncaire brothers overturned. One of its four occupants was drowned. On the return trip Father de Bonnécamps, with the pride of a true voyageur, boasts that he "shot all the rapids." Always critical of overstatement, he remarks that their danger "had been rather exaggerated." There are other examples in his diary of the same conservatism. Not far above the mouth of French Creek, in Pennsylvania, Chabert de Joncaire caught seven rattlesnakes, the markings of which are described with meticulous accuracy by De Bonnécamps. With regard to the popular belief that squirrels are hypnotized by the serpents, he comments: "I have read a statement similar to this reported in philosophical dissertations; but I do not give it credence, for all that." Stopping at the mission of the Sulpician Abbé Piquet, at La Présentation on the St. Lawrence, he observes that, "according to Abbé Piquet, the soil is excellent, but it did not appear so to us." When, approaching the Great Kanawha River of Virginia, they saw but a few buffalo, he laments the hyperbole and exaggeration of those Canadians who had assured him there would be such a plenty that the tongues alone would supply enough meat to support the troops.

Because of the variety of its observations, Father de Bonnécamps' account is one of the most revealing of its time. He lists many of the valuable species of trees he has noticed, and mentions such items as large crabs and wild turkeys. Yet he does not value highly his ability as a biologist: "Eyes more trained than ours would perhaps have made discoveries which would have pleased arborists." Knowing the restraint of his other accounts, we are inclined to believe his story of having dined near the forks of the Ohio in a hollow "cotton-tree in which twenty-nine men could be ranged side by side."

The present writer can testify to the faithfulness of his descrip-

<sup>33</sup> I am following substantially the translation of Céloron's diary given by Father Lambing in *Historical Researches*, and of De Bonnécamps' as given in *JR*, 69: 151-199.

tion of the famous Indian God Rock, on the Allegheny River about nine miles below the mouth of French Creek. In his entry for the third of August he notes:

We continued our route, and we marched, as on the first day, buried in the somber and dismal valley, which serves as the bed of the Ohio. We encountered on our route two small villages of louns [Wolf clan of Delawares] where we did not halt. In the evening, after we disembarked, we buried a second plate of lead under a great rock, upon which were to be seen several figures roughly graven. These were the figures of men and women, and the footprints of goats, turkeys, bears, etc., traced upon the rock. Our officers tried to persuade me that this was the work of Europeans; but, in truth, I may say that in the style and workmanship of these engravings one cannot fail to recognize the unskillfulness of Indians. I might add to this, they have much analogy with the hieroglyphics which they use instead of writing.<sup>34</sup>

He does not mention the very similar petroglyphs at the mouth of the Little Beaver that had attracted De Léry's attention. Much to his chagrin, he actually missed Big Bone Lick.

Father de Bonnécamps' *Journal* contains much information concerning the disposition of the Indian tribes and notes concerning military forts and their potential locations. His map indicates numerous small villages of Iroquois and Delawares along the Allegheny, many of whose occupants took fright and ran into the woods. At Attigué "all the people had fled to the woods. Seeing this, we went on, and came to the old village of the Chaouanons (Chartier's Shawnee village), where we found only a man and a woman, so old that their united ages would make fully two centuries." Soon after they left this place they came upon five English traders with about forty packets of the skins of bears, otters, cats, precans [raccoons?] and roe-deer. These men were ordered out of the valley and given a letter of warning to the "governor of Philadelphia."<sup>35</sup>

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon of August 8 they came to Logstown, or Chinningué (Shenango) as Father de Bonnécamps puts it. The banks were lined with people, who saluted the French with four volleys. After an exchange of compliments with the chiefs, Céloron demanded that the English flag—flying beside the French—be pulled down. Eighty men were placed on guard that night, and all the French and Canadians slept in their clothing. Next morn-

<sup>34</sup> Tracings which I made of these figures are reproduced in Donald A. Cadzow, *Petroglyphs*, Safe Harbor Report No. 1, Harrisburg, 1934, 48-50. They include such traditional symbols as the Underground Monster and the Thunderbird.

<sup>35</sup> Céloron's account has six English soldiers, with fifty horses and about 150 bales of furs.

ing Joncaire was advised that eighty warriors were starting from Kuskuskis on the Big Beaver to aid Logstown in an attack on the French. The bold front of Céloron's men so impressed the Indians that they quietly withdrew without causing any disturbance.

As the expedition proceeded past the mouth of the Scioto and then up the Miami toward Detroit, it met with the same hostile reception, even rifle fire from one Shawnee village. Add to these difficulties the terrible storms in which the party nearly foundered on Lake Ontario, giving some hint of an important reason for developing an inland water route to the Mississippi. Unfavorable winds, choppy waters and ice lingering sometimes until May made travel on the Great Lakes extremely undependable.

It should not be forgotten that Father de Bonnécamps was chaplain to the Indians on the voyage and was not unique in experiencing trials to his patience. It was inevitable that some of the Indians should have dallied at Ft. Chouegen to imbibe the English rum. Apparently they brought some of it along to the Niagara portage and held up the progress of the expedition while they amused themselves. Forced to wait again for them at Detroit, Father de Bonnécamps' annoyance is manifest in his reference to the Indians as "a class of men created in order to exercise the patience of those who have the misfortune to travel with them."

Céloron and Father de Bonnécamps arrived in Quebec on November 18, their journey having consumed nearly six months. Father de Bonnécamps' report was pessimistic concerning the actual or even potential character of Canadian colonists in the Illinois country. Those that had been sent there were very indolent, some had even removed to other places. Céloron was equally pessimistic, both as to the disposition of the Indians toward the French and the possibility of French traders' successfully competing with the English. With the additional note of difficulty of transporting supplies to that distant region, he touched on the very factors that were to doom the French to ultimate defeat on the Ohio.

George Croghan and Andrew Montour, acting immediately to counteract Céloron's influence, went to Logstown and found the Indians very desirous of an English fort on the Ohio. A few days later they were joined there by Christopher Gist, representing the Ohio Company, who was sent out on a similar mission. Like Weiser and Post, other English agents among the Indians, he was a very religious man. In his journal for 1750 he describes a Christmas service "according to the Church of England" he held for the Ohio Indians. He found that they had been supplied by the French with



a device for telling the days of the week so that they could maintain Sunday observance while away on their hunts.<sup>36</sup>

In the following year, 1751, Joncaire contested with Croghan and Montour for the friendship of the Indians at Logstown, but suffered the humiliation of seeing them cast in their lot with the English. British ascendancy was short-lived, however, for upon the death of De la Jonquière the alert Marquis Duquesne became governor-general of New France and immediately began the strengthening of the long sinuous communication line whose weakest section was Western Pennsylvania. Early in 1753, under the command of Peter Marin, the French erected a fort at Presqu'Isle, near the foot of the present Parade Street, Erie. From this point a portage plank road fifteen miles long was laid through swampy territory to a second little fort erected on a little lake which emptied into La Rivière aux Boeufs (French Creek, at Waterford Pa.). Here at Ft. Le Boeuf pirogues and canoes were constructed for the transportation of military supplies down meandering French Creek into the Allegheny at Venango.<sup>37</sup> Here Joncaire failed to win the consent of the Delaware chief, Custeloga, to the building of a fort, but took up winter quarters in the house of an English trader.

Following the conventions of the period, which ruled out much winter fighting, the majority of the French troops withdrew into Canada, leaving but a small garrison at the two forts. Provision for religious services was made by the inclusion of a chapel in each of the forts. For our knowledge of the chaplains of these forts we are indebted to a *Register of the Baptisms and Interments which took place at Fort Duquesne during the years 1753, 1754, 1755, and 1756*. For an English translation of this work we have followed Father Lambing, who has printed the *Register* in both French and English, in installments, with annotations, in *Historical Researches*, 1884 and 1885.<sup>38</sup> This record was compiled from a collection of duplicate reports signed by the commanders of the forts and sent to Canada. The *Register* is apparently incomplete, for it is certain that there were more deaths during the Ohio campaign than are recorded here. Although intended as a record for Ft. Duquesne, "at the Beautiful river, under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin," the *Register* includes interments made

<sup>36</sup> Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals*, Pittsburgh, 1893, 37-39.

<sup>37</sup> The history of this route is well treated in S. Stevens and D. Kent, eds., *The Venango Trail*, mimeographed, Harrisburg, 1940.

<sup>38</sup> This publication was issued as the *Catholic Historical Researches* beginning with the second volume and continuing until October, 1886.

at Forts Presqu'Isle and Le Boeuf before the building of Ft. Duquesne.

The first entry is that of Gabriel Anheuser, Recollect, July 11, 1753, in which he cites the death and interment of John Baptist Texier, a soldier at Presqu'Isle. The second entry, made at Presqu'Isle on July 31, is signed by Father Denys Baron, Recollect, "chaplain in the said detachment," and Father Anheuser, "chaplain of the detachment." The next two, August 20 and September 6, signed by Anheuser, are of interments at Ft. Le Boeuf, indicating that he must have taken over the duties there, leaving Father Baron at Presqu'Isle. These are the last entries made by Father Anheuser, so it is possible that he returned to Canada with the main force, leaving Father Baron as head chaplain. It was a sorry group of soldiery that finally reached Canada. The few horses that had been available for transport of goods from Presqu'Isle to Le Boeuf had died under their burdens, and human backs took over the work, men wading knee-deep in mud, weak from lack of nourishment. When the emaciated soldiers reached Montreal and Quebec the governor and inhabitants were horrified at their condition.<sup>39</sup>

All the additional information we have on Father Anheuser is that given by Tanguay: "Haneuzer, Gabriel, *Recollect*, ordained at Quebec, August 30, 1752, and died February 21, 1762. His name is encountered in the registers of Three-Rivers."<sup>40</sup>

It is possible that Father Anheuser may have exchanged places with Father Baron and may not have gone to Canada until the following spring. An entry in De Léry's diary for June 19, 1754, informs us that "the chaplain of Fort de la Presqu'Isle arrived at the Chautauqua portage, sick with fever."<sup>41</sup> This could not have been Father Baron, for he was then at Ft. Duquesne.

Four entries from September 16, 1753, to March 11, 1754, imply that Father Baron was officiating at the little chapel of St. Peter in Ft. Le Boeuf when Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent the twenty-one-year-old George Washington with Christopher Gist to Ft. Le Boeuf on December 11, 1753, to demand an explanation of the French occupation. His message was carefully considered by Le Gardeur de St. Pierre and Louis Le Gardeur de Repentigny, De Léry's brother-in-law, whom St. Pierre had just succeeded. The French commander replied that he was acting under orders from

<sup>39</sup> Duquesne to Rouillé, November 29, 1753, *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), 10: 255.

<sup>40</sup> *Répertoire du clergé canadien*, 114.

<sup>41</sup> S. Stevens and D. Kent, eds., *Journal of Chaussegros de Léry, 1754-1755*, mimeograph, Harrisburg, 1940, 118.



the governor of Canada, leaving the implication that if Washington wished to know more he might consult Duquesne himself.<sup>42</sup>

The command to which St. Pierre fell heir was no sinecure. His predecessor, Marin, a sick man of "peevish and cholerick" disposition, had despaired utterly and begged his men to tie him to a chair and then set fire to the fort, that he might perish in the flames. This, Repentigny and the other officers, who despised him, refused to do.<sup>43</sup> The resolution of this situation is precisely put by the *Register*:

In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, on the twenty-ninth of October at half-past four in the evening, died in the fort of French Creek, under the title of St. Peter, Monsieur Peter Paul, *Escuyer*, Sieur de Marin, Knight of the royal military order of St. Louis, Captain of Infantry and Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Beautiful River, aged sixty-three years, after having received the sacraments of Penance, Extreme Unction, and the viaticum. His remains were interred in the cemetery of the same fort by us, Recollect priest, chaplain of the said fort and during the campaign of the Beautiful River. There was present at this interment Monsieur Repentigny, commander of the above mentioned army and captain of infantry, Messieurs du Muys, lieutenant of infantry; Benois, lieutenant of infantry; de Simblim, major at the above mentioned fort; (and) Laforce, guard of the magazine, who signed with us.

Le Gardeur de Repentigny,  
Laforce, Benois, du Muys,  
J. Depré Simblim.  
Father Denys Baron,  
Recollect priest, chaplain.

A few days after Washington's return to Virginia, Captain Trent began the erection of a fortified storehouse at Redstone (Brownsville) on the Monongahela. At the same time Ensign Ward and a few English soldiers, with the permission of the Ohio valley Indians, started construction of a fort at the forks of the Ohio. At Logstown La Chauvignerie had already taken up residence for the French and was busily squaring up stones, evidently for a fort at that location. There was similar activity on French Creek, for Joncaire had finally broken down Indian resistance to French occupation at the mouth of the creek; here Ft. Machault was erected.

Contrecoeur, commanding about a thousand French and Indians, went down the Ohio in April, 1754, drove away Ensign Ward, and

<sup>42</sup> J. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of Washington (1748-1799)*, 4 vols., Boston, 1925. Washington speaks of a chapel in the fort, I, 59.

<sup>43</sup> Reported by Stephen Coffen, deserter from the French, in his deposition in *NYCD*, 6: 835.

began the erection of Ft. Duquesne. Father Baron's first entry there was of June 20, 1754. Inasmuch as his last interment at Ft. Le Boeuf was dated March 11, we may conclude that he moved down the river to Ft. Duquesne with the main body of troops and thus witnessed the important events that were to culminate in the French and Indian War in this country and the Seven Years' War in Europe.<sup>44</sup>

Major Washington himself gave orders for the firing of the shot which broke the mounting tension. Informed by his Indians that a party of French were in hiding near the summit of the mountain near present-day Uniontown, on May 28 he led his men to the spot under cover of darkness and attacked. With one exception, all the thirty-five French were either killed or taken prisoner. Jumonville's skeleton lies today beneath a little pile of stones where he fell.<sup>45</sup>

The French reaction to what they considered a treacherous assassination was instantaneous and effective. Jumonville's brother, Louis de Villiers, raced to Ft. Duquesne with a detachment from Canada. If, as Parkman assumes, De Villiers was still in Canada when the news of his brother's death reached him, he must have broken all speed records in assembling his forces and descending the Ohio. In his *Journal* for June 14 De Léry reports his arrival at Chautauqua Lake:

At 6 o'clock in the evening M. de Villiers, captain, at the head of the Nipissingues and Algonkins, M. de Longueuil [son of the 1739 leader], commander, at the head of the Iroquois, M. de Montesson, lieutenant, at the head of the Abnaki, and M. de Longueuil, second ensign, with the Hurons of Lorette, arrived here. All the nations together numbered 120 to 130 men.<sup>46</sup>

Conforming to Indian conventions, Contrecoeur called a council of war when the party reached Ft. Duquesne, in which he and the other officers urged the Christian Indians to avenge the death of Jumonville. The council probably had the added effect of impressing the Pennsylvania Indians with the equality and dignity which the French accorded to their domiciled Indians. At any rate, some of the Pennsylvanians, albeit hesitantly, joined the French. On June 26 François de Villiers, another brother, arrived from Ft. Chartres

<sup>44</sup> The war was fought unofficially until 1756. The fighting from then until the Peace of Paris in 1763 was called the Seven Years' war.

<sup>45</sup> See De Léry's *Journal* for July 16, 1754, 36-38, for the French reaction to his death. For pictures of the grave site, see Hulbert, *The Ohio River*, 46, 70.

<sup>46</sup> F. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, 2 vols., Boston, 1927, I, 159.

on the Mississippi with three hundred Illinois and fifty French and immediately asked for command of the punitive expedition.<sup>47</sup>

Sources of our information about the movements of the party that set out next morning are a diary kept by a soldier who merely signs himself "J.C.B." and the journal of De Villiers.<sup>48</sup> On the second day J.C.B. writes that "before setting out the next morning [June 29], Mass was said at the camp by the chaplain."<sup>49</sup> The chaplain is mentioned by De Villiers in his entry at the Redstone fort, deserted storehouse of the Ohio Company at the mouth of Redstone Creek: "The first of July, I left there a capable sergeant with twenty men and some sick Indians, likewise the pirogues and some munitions. The chaplain was not able to continue on the journey; he gave us general absolution and returned to the hangar."<sup>50</sup>

Apparently on the assumption that Mass was said at Redstone, a plaque has been placed in the Historic Church of St. Peter, Brownsville, commemorating the Mass of July 1, 1754. When the fine hundred-year-old edifice was restored in 1936, a stained glass window was installed picturing this historic sacrifice. The late Reverend Martin J. Brennan, pastor, in a booklet which he published on the occasion of the restoration, discussed various theories as to the identity of the chaplain who celebrated this Mass.<sup>51</sup> The only information given concerning him is the statement of J.C.B. that "this man was a Recollect who had come with Captain [François] de Villiers from Fort Chartres. This large and vigorous person had served in the cavalry in France, becoming a monk after the death of the young woman he intended to marry."<sup>52</sup>

The chaplain at Fort Chartres at the time was Father Gagnon, but he was a secular priest. Father Baron, of course, did not come from Ft. Chartres. Father Anheuser, as we have seen, was probably either at Chautauqua or in Canada at the time. In a letter to Father Brennan, Pierre-Georges Roy, Quebec archivist, inclines to the belief that the celebrant was Father Luc Collet (name before

<sup>47</sup> A biography of François de Villiers is given in Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire général du Canada*, 2 vols., Ottawa, 1931, II, 798.

<sup>48</sup> S. Stevens, D. Kent, and E. Woods, eds., *Travels in New France by J. C. B.*, Harrisburg, 1941. The identity of the soldier J. C. B. is unknown.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>50</sup> Quoted by Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire*, II, 796. Le Jeune and Parkman both credit this diary to Louis rather than François. Since it was evidently the diary of the commanding officer, it is possible the J. C. B. has some of his facts garbled concerning the role of François.

<sup>51</sup> *The Historic Church of Saint Peter*, 1936, 14.

<sup>52</sup> *Travels in New France*, 60, note.

entering the Recollect order—Léonard Philibert), who was ordained at Quebec February 24, 1753, at the age of thirty-seven and immediately sent to the Ohio River territory as chaplain.<sup>53</sup> It is fairly evident that he was not at that time sent to Le Boeuf or Presqu'Isle, for Fathers Anheuser and Baron were sufficient for those posts. It therefore is quite possible that he was assigned to Fort Chartres on the Mississippi. There was a detachment of French soldiers there at the time.<sup>54</sup> If Collet came up from Fort Chartres he probably did not return there, for to the record of an interment at Ft. Duquesne July 30, 1755, he signs his name as chaplain of Presqu'Isle and French Creek and says he acts with the permission of Father Baron, who also affixes his signature. This was just three weeks after Braddock's defeat, so we may conclude that Father Collet on that occasion came down from the north with reinforcements.

An apparent disqualification of Father Collet as the celebrant of July 1 is Father Lambing's statement that the Collet brothers, Charles and Luc, were believed to be natives of Canada, whereas J.C.B.'s monk had been a French cavalry officer.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps Luc's ordination at Quebec is taken as proof of Canadian birth, but this is offset by Tanguay's statement that Charles Collet was obliged by the English to *return* to France. Tanguay likewise reports that Father Luc was taken prisoner while serving as chaplain in 1759 and conducted to England, being released in the following year to the Recollects of France.<sup>56</sup> His ordination age of thirty-seven would have given ample time for a previous military career. A possible previous connection with Ft. Chartres is indicated by his later residence there from May, 1761, until his death in 1765.

Following the surrender of Washington at Ft. Necessity, his Indian allies abandoned their villages on the Ohio. However, Shingas, a Delaware chief at Sawcunk, at the mouth of the Beaver River, had gone over to the French in February. Many other Delawares and Shawnee took sides with the French and returned to Logstown, which the French rebuilt.

One of the most valuable sources on the history of this exciting period is the *Journal* of De Léry for 1754-1755.<sup>57</sup> It is particularly interesting to us, for it reveals a second visit of Father de Bonné-

<sup>53</sup> *The Historic Church of Saint Peter*, 14.

<sup>54</sup> Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, II, 156, reports an unsuccessful attempt by Ft. Chartres troops in 1753 to ascend the Ohio to Ft. Le Boeuf.

<sup>55</sup> *Historical Researches*, II (1886), 89 f.

<sup>56</sup> *Répertoire du clergé canadien*, 115.

<sup>57</sup> This *Journal* covers the period from March 7, 1754, to April 7, 1755. During most of this period De Léry was at Chautauqua Lake in charge of a detachment and at Detroit as second in command to Du Muys.

camps to Pennsylvania, along with the secular Forget du Verger, who was being sent to take charge of the Illinois missions. De Léry, anxious for an opportunity to get into action on the Ohio, was instead appointed to head one of several detachments charged with the rather complicated duty of transporting supplies to the Pennsylvania forts, improving roads and fortifications, and finally transporting supplies as far west as Detroit and Michillimackinac. De Léry and Father de Bonnécamps were the scientific observers on the expedition, particularly making a detailed study of the southern shoreline of Lake Erie, marked "inconnu" on Father de Bonnécamps' map of 1749.

On April 22 De Léry left Quebec commanding a detachment of 120 militiamen in eight boats. "M. Forget du Verger, priest of the Seminary of Foreign Missions," he writes, "embarked with me. He was on his way to the Illinois missions where he was going this year. He acted as chaplain along the way as far as Montreal." De Léry left Montreal on May 2. At Lachine he took charge of a brigade of twenty-four soldiers, a sergeant, sixty militiamen, twelve bark canoes of eight men each, and 360 pieces of freight divided among the canoes, provisions for the nearly starved garrisons of Western Pennsylvania. At about the same time similar brigades embarked under the leadership of Montigny and Péan. We do not know with which brigade De Bonnécamps and Du Verger were associated, but they must have been in one of the parties, for De Léry lists them along with the officers at Chautauqua Lake as of June 30.

On May 19 Péan, who had overtaken De Léry, handed the latter three letters from Madame de Léry. Throughout the journal there are references to letters sent and received between the two, despite the almost overwhelming vicissitudes of mail service. On May 20, as the French neared Ft. Oswego they held their guns in readiness. They passed in front of the enemy fortress with flags flying and drums beating, upon which the English ran up their own colors. On the twenty-third as they neared the end of Lake Ontario their gun salute was returned by French-held Ft. Niagara in a display of fireworks. On June 9 they arrived at Chautauqua, where De Léry was occupied chiefly with supplies and carrying out many of the duties of Péan, who was ill most of the time.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> De Léry tried to obtain Péan's recall to Canada, but the intendant, Bigot, seems to have had personal reasons for keeping him far from home. See *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 92. Corruption among officers and officials was common; among the few leaders commended by Montcalm and Bougainville were De Léry and Repentigny.



When it came time to send his men to Presqu'Isle on July 14, De Léry states that "M. Forget du Verger, priest, remained to serve as chaplain to twenty invalids, whom I was to send off the next day." The following day the sick men were taken to Presqu'Isle, and Father du Verger followed in a canoe.

Very early in the morning of July 30 a party of 285 men under Péan, St. Martin, De Léry, and St. Ours set out for Detroit in canoes equipped with sails. We know very little about the activities of the priests except that Father de Bonnécamp took a bearing of 41 deg. 24 min. 54 sec. at Sandusky, which had once been a French trading post. De Léry's notebook contains a sketch of the bay and shoreline here, showing both his own and the priest's routes. Rigauville and Father de Bonnécamp separated from the group at Sandusky and did not arrive at Detroit until August 7, one day following the expedition. Here on August 13, at a conference with several Indian tribes, no fewer than six priests were present: Fathers Bocquet and Bonaventure, Recollects; Father du Verger; and three Jesuits, including Father du Jaunay of Michillimackinac and either Father Potier or Father de Salleneuve, of the Detroit-Sandusky mission. Fathers du Jaunay and Bonaventure were about to leave for Montreal, which suggests the possibility of several of the western priests' having stopped at Presqu'Isle in Western Pennsylvania on their way to and from their missions between 1754 and 1759.

On August 16 Péan with about five hundred troops doubtless including Father de Bonnécamp as chaplain, began the return journey to Montreal by way of Michilimackinac and the Ottawa River. Thus Father de Bonnécamp in two trips spent nearly a year on the inland waterways of the New World. Early in September Father du Verger left for his future home among the Ottawas, taking the route that led by way of St. Joseph. De Léry remained at the fort during the winter to put it in order and to erect a stockade.

Word having come of an impending attack on Ft. Duquesne, accompanied by a request from Contrecoeur that he come and put that fort too in a state of defense, De Léry left Detroit March 15 by land, accompanied by two Iroquois, one of whom was from the Lake of Two Mountains. Ice in Lake Erie forced them to take the Conshohocken trail across Ohio. On Easter Sunday De Léry reached Conshohocken, where he saw the graves of the 120 Hurons who had died there in one summer while taking refuge during their revolt against the French. Only two cabins of their village were left, one of which belonged to Caughnawaga Indians who were accustomed to hunt through this region. On April 5 he "came upon

the Belle Rivière which I had not seen for sixteen years, when I surveyed it while going to the Chicachats in 1739."<sup>59</sup>

At Duquesne De Léry barely had time to put the fort in readiness before the approach of a large English force under Braddock and Washington July 9, 1755. The hero of the encounter with the English at Turtle Creek, only seven miles from the fort, was Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu, a descendant of the Crusaders, who marched at the head of seventy-two regular soldiers, 146 Canadians, and about six hundred Indians of many tribes, including the famous Pontiac.<sup>60</sup> Beaujeu fell at the third volley, his forehead pierced with a bullet. The consequent rallying of French forces by Dumas, followed by the rout of the English, is too well known to call for elaboration here. Father Baron's entry of Beaujeu's interment indicates that he was prepared to meet death:

In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, on the ninth of July, was killed in the battle fought with the English, and the same day as above, Mr. Liénard Daniel, *Escuyer*, Sieur de Beaujeu, Captain in the Infantry, Commander of Ft. Duquesne and of the army, who was aged about forty-five years, having been at confession and performed his devotions the same day. His remains were interred on the twelfth of the same month, in the cemetery of Ft. Duquesne under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin on the Beautiful River, and this with the customary ceremonies by us, Recollect priest, the undersigned chaplain of the King at the above-mentioned fort. In testimony whereof we have signed:

Father Denys Baron, P.R.,  
Chaplain.<sup>61</sup>

Only four other interments of men killed or fatally wounded in this battle are recorded in the *Register*.

The Duquesne *Register* reflects something of the motley group which surrounded the fort and were subjects of Father Baron's (and later Father Virot's) priestly ministrations. Villages of Indians were crowded close about the fort for protection and supplies, as

<sup>59</sup> He reached the Ohio after crossing the Little Beaver, which he calls "*La Rivière au Portrait*." See note 21.

<sup>60</sup> Among the Indians were some from Caughnawaga, St. Francis, and Lorette. J.-P.-A. Maurault, in *Histoire des Abénakis depuis 1606 jusqu'à nos jours*, Quebec, 1866, 440, says about two hundred Abnaki participated.

<sup>61</sup> Dedication to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin is referred to by Bishop O'Connor in his remarks about the diocesan synod of June, 1844: "It would appear that dedication was accepted by the Blessed Virgin as at the first synod of the new diocese of Pittsburgh, the new diocese was placed under the protection of the Holy Virgin under the title of the Assumption, although no one was aware at the time of the previous dedication under the same title." *Historical Researches*, 1 (1884), 118.

The chapel seems not to have been incorporated into the blockhouse, but probably was located in a second fortified building that stood a few rods away.

they were at Presqu'Isle and Le Boeuf.<sup>62</sup> Several French traders lived there with their families, along with indentured Irish servants used in transporting goods, who had run off from their English masters and joined the Indians. Evidently Father Baron kept a watchful eye on English prisoners brought back from the frontiers, baptizing several English children when they were in danger of death. The French continually tried to buy the English prisoners from the Indians to save them from possible ill treatment, but the Indians usually insisted on their right to retain them, putting them through the gauntlet, on rare occasions burning them at the stake, more often adopting them into their tribes.<sup>63</sup>

Father Baron bestowed his own name "Denys" on a twelve-year-old Indian boy whom he baptized; he gave the feminine form "Denise" to a Delaware Indian girl who begged earnestly for this sacrament two days before her death and to a three-day-old baby whose mother had been taken prisoner by the Delawares and afterward turned over to Commander Dumas. Among the baptisms was that of a little boy, John Turner, whom Lambing identifies as one of Pittsburgh's early residents.<sup>64</sup> The oldest person baptized was a great Iroquois chief, Christiguay, aged about ninety-five, who asked to be received into the Church during a dangerous illness. The eagerness of Father Baron for the welfare of these prisoners is shown by the fact that he baptized two babies on the very day of their birth. On Christmas Day, 1756, he baptized two small children of English prisoners held by the Delawares.

No marriages are recorded in the *Register*, but J.C.B. recounts the romantic tale of a marriage which Father Baron performed.<sup>65</sup>

Little biographical data is available concerning Father Baron. Tanguay, who lists him as Charles Baron, says he was ordained September 23, 1741; served at St. Maurice in 1744, at l'Île-aux-Coudres et les Éboulements, in 1750, where he signed "Denis" to his transactions. In the register of Ft. St. Frédéric, on Lake Champlain, he is listed as having died on November 6, 1758.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup> A deposition of William Johnston, a prisoner of the French, describes the settlement at Presqu'Isle and mentions the presence of a priest. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3: 13.

<sup>63</sup> Both the good and bad side of the character of the Indians who were active about Ft. Duquesne is to be found in W. Darlington, ed., *An Account of the remarkable occurrences in the life and travels of Col. James Smith, during his captivity with the Indians, in the years 1755, '56, '57, '58 & '59*, Cincinnati, 1870.

<sup>64</sup> *Historical Researches*, 1 (1885): 153, note 11, III (1886): 38 f.

<sup>65</sup> *Travels in New France*, 70 f.

<sup>66</sup> *Répertoire du clergé canadien*, 103.

Western Pennsylvania's chief memory of the French and Indian war is of the numerous parties of French and Indians who continually harassed the frontier settlements, burning buildings, scalping victims, carrying off prisoners. It was but a repetition of the pattern adopted by both French and English from the beginning of their rivalry in the New World. There is evidence that the French commanders wished to accomplish their purpose with as little bloodshed as possible, but as Downes points out, they could not have prevented the depredations of the Delawares and Shawnee.<sup>67</sup> As a matter of fact, the French position in Western Pennsylvania was very weak. Their only hope for military success lay in keeping the English on the defensive and far from their decaying forts. After the burning of the Delaware village and French storehouse at Kittaning in September of 1756 by John Armstrong, the Delawares of that town retired to Ft. Machault and Kuskuskis for protection and redoubled their energies against the frontiers. They were joined at Venango by the Mingoes (Iroquois) of the region below the forks. Dumas and his successor De Ligneris wisely took measures to set up the Delawares and Shawnee of Kuskuskis, Sawcunk, and Logstown on a more dependable basis. They built thirty log houses with stone chimneys for them at Logstown, thirty-eight at Sawcunk, a mile below the mouth of the Beaver River, and made plans for more at the Kuskuskis villages.<sup>68</sup>

In April of 1757 the Catawba and Cherokee, southern allies of the English, struck thrice, once at Logstown and twice at Ft. Duquesne. In this manner was the stage set for the entrance of Western Pennsylvania's first missionary, the Jesuit Father, Claude Viot.

In the previous month De Ligneris, probably recognizing the necessity of an establishment similar to Caughnawaga to match forces with the southern Indians, had sent a request to Canada for a missionary to the Delawares, along with some domiciled Abnaki to lead them. The Abnaki were chosen rather than Iroquois because they spoke nearly the same language as the Delawares and were regarded by them as brothers rather than "uncles," a term of obsequious respect reluctantly accorded the Iroquois. It is probable that this request was carried to the governor by an embassy of eight

<sup>67</sup> R. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio*, Pittsburgh, 1940, 81. Instructions taken from captured prisoners show that the French officers counselled leaders of war parties to follow "honor and humanity."

<sup>68</sup> Most of the information concerning houses for the Indians comes from English agents who visited there during and after the war.

or ten Delaware chiefs and as many Shawnee who called on their "father Onontio" at that time.<sup>69</sup>

There was no difficulty in finding a missionary willing to undertake such a task. The Jesuits of St. Francis, above Montreal, were almost too willing to transport their whole mission to the Ohio, if we may believe an entry in Montcalm's *Journal* under date of January 5, 1757:

The Marquis de Vaudreuil has had well-founded reports concerning the Abnaki of St. Francis and Bécancour, that the Jesuit missionaries, made fanatical and unbalanced by religious principles, wished to make them leave their villages and transport them to the banks of the Ohio, under pretext of withdrawing them from commerce with the whites and intoxicants; and the Jesuits determined to refuse the sacraments to those who were opposed to this transmigration. The general has disapproved this conduct of the Jesuits as very much contrary to the interests of the colony.<sup>70</sup>

Rochemonteix supplies the background for this policy of the Jesuits:

... Father Virot ... was a missionary at Sault St. Louis before going to St. Francis. There, he found the Abnaki, until then so attached to their faith, for some time quite fallen away from their first fervor: contact with the French and strong drink had diverted the young people from their duties. The elders lamented over their misconduct, but they had no control over them. Then it was that some Abnaki, desirous of ending their days in peace and the practice of their religious duties, resolved to quit St. Francis ... a dozen Abnaki, commended and encouraged by Father Virot, sought refuge among the Delawares, near the Ohio. Father Virot followed them there ...<sup>71</sup>

Elsewhere the same writer tells us:

With a zeal not always assisted by physical strength, he demanded and obtained from the superior-general, Father de Saint-Pé, authorization to go and found a new mission among the tribe of Delawares, on the banks of the Ohio ...<sup>72</sup>

Father Claude-François-Louis Virot (first name sometimes given as Joseph) was born at Besançon on February 15, 1721, and entered the novitiate on October 10, 1738. After two years of philosophy

<sup>69</sup> De Ligneris' request is mentioned in Henri-Raymond Casgrain, ed., *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm durant ses campagnes en Canada de 1756 à 1759*, Quebec, 1895, 192. Closeness of the Abnaki-Delaware tie is mentioned by the Moravian, Heckewelder, in *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who once Inhabited Pennsylvania*, ... Philadelphia, 1876, xli. He points out that the word Abnaki is but a corruption of Lenápe, the Indian term for Delaware stock.

<sup>70</sup> *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, 146.

<sup>71</sup> Rochemonteix II, 143, note.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.



in the Jesuit college at Besançon, he taught three years at Saint-Flour; the remainder of the apprentice teaching period preceding theology he spent teaching humanities at Billom (1743-1744), rhetoric at Rodez (1744-1745), and humanities at Auch (1745-1746). Then he was forced to retire for a year to Toulouse in order to mend his shattered health. In 1747 he went to Dôle, where he studied theology for four years. He left for Quebec in 1752 and was assigned to the Sault St. Louis mission, where he probably worked under the direction of Fathers de Gonnor, Gordan, and finally, in 1756, Father de Neuville.<sup>73</sup> He was "among the Abnaki" in 1756, therefore doubtless at St. Francis.<sup>74</sup> While there he drew up an Abnaki course of instruction. It is preserved in the archives of the St. Francis mission at Pierreville, Canada.<sup>75</sup>

The next bit of information concerning Father Virot's project is that given by a fellow-worker, Father Roubaud, in a long letter of October 21, 1757, detailing the massacre of Ft. William Henry. He begins thus:

I set out on the twelfth of July from St. Francis—the principal village of the Abnaki mission—to go to Montreal; the purpose of my journey was simply to bring to Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil a deputation of twenty Abnaki appointed to accompany Father Virot, who has gone to try to found a new mission among the Delawares of Ohio, or the Beautiful River. The share that I was allowed to have in that glorious enterprise, the events which caused it, and the difficulties that it was necessary to overcome, may furnish hereafter interesting material for another letter. But I must wait until manifest blessings shall have crowned the efforts which we made to carry the knowledge of faith to tribes that appear inclined to receive it.<sup>76</sup>

It is not unlikely that the earlier group of twelve mentioned

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 47, note, 50, note, 185, note 2. *JR*, 71: 178 gives 1722 rather than 1721 as the year of his birth, and 1750 rather than 1752 for his arrival in Canada.

<sup>74</sup> *JR*, 70: 85. Virot probably was working at St. Francis under Sault St. Louis superiors as early as 1754. T. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, 4 vols., London, 1908-1917, II, 353, and note 3.

<sup>75</sup> Rochemonteix, II, 185, n. 2. Sommervogel, in his *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols., Brussels, 1898, VIII, 835, confusedly ascribes the manuscript to Pierre-Étienne Virot. Maurault in his *Histoire des Abénakis*, 501, says that when the St. Francis church was destroyed by Rogers in 1759, all of its valuable manuscripts were burned. "Of all the precious objects, they were able to preserve only an Abnaki vocabulary and a strongly bound notebook containing a large number of hymns, motets, psalms, and songs, for they were in the hands of Father Virot when the fire occurred. This vocabulary contains a large number of scholarly notes which have been most useful to us for the history of the Abnaki." Father Virot being already dead at the time of Rogers' expedition it is not clear just how the manuscript found its way back to St. Francis.

<sup>76</sup> *JR*, 70: 91.

by Rochemonteix (if they were distinct from the band of twenty) went to the Ohio with the returning embassy of Delaware and Shawnee chiefs. Roubaud's statement about his part "in that glorious enterprise" has been interpreted by some writers as indicating that he joined Father Virot on the Ohio, but the short time which elapsed between the massacre of August 9 and the letter of October 21 does not seem to allow for his having taken such a long journey.<sup>77</sup>

The next question is, where did Father Virot set up his mission cross, and what success did he have? The answer is given in a succinct passage from the diary of David Zeisberger, Moravian missionary, for April 23, 1770:

In the forenoon came to Sakunk (i. e. the place of an outlet) at the mouth of the Big Beaver. No one at present lives at this old Indian station. Here during the occupation of Ft. Duquesne by the French there resided a French priest, who labored to convert the Delawares to Romanism, but he was driven away by Pakanke, chief of the Wolf tribe of that nation. Rode three miles up the creek to the Falls, and encamped.<sup>78</sup>

The best description we have of Sawcunk and its environment is given by Thomas Hutchins, who passed that way in 1764, only six years after Virot's residence there. After describing the rich valleys and wooded hills that surrounded the spot, eight miles below Logstown and one mile below the confluence of the Beaver with the Ohio, he mentions the "large town, on a high steep bank, built by the French, of square logs, with stone chimneys, for some of the Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo tribes, who abandoned it in the year 1758, when the French deserted Ft. Duquesne. Ft. McIntosh is situated on this spot [today's Beaver, Pa.]."<sup>79</sup>

At the time of Father Virot's arrival there were about one hundred warriors—mostly Delaware—at Sawcunk under the leadership

<sup>77</sup> C. Dahlinger has Roubaud joining Virot on the Ohio in "The Moravians and Their Missions among the Indians of the Ohio Valley," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 3 (1920), 47.

That the Abnaki brought by Roubaud actually accompanied Virot is inferred from an account of the arrival of a "Jesuit missionary" with some Abnaki at Niagara in August. M. Pouchot, *Memoir upon the Late War in North America between the French and English, 1755-60*, translated and edited by Franklin B. Hough, 2 vols., Roxbury, Mass., 1866, 92 f. At a council with Delawares from Tioga (Upper Susquehanna), the Abnaki urged their friends to receive the missionary among them, and "the Jesuit made them a speech on the excellence of religion." In response, one of the Delawares gave a garbled account of the Redemption and Trinity. The Delawares promised a reply in the spring, but a later delegation to Niagara was turned aside by the suspicious Iroquois.

<sup>78</sup> Quoted by J. Bausman, *History of Beaver County, Pennsylvania*, 2 vols., New York, 1904, I, 418, note 3.

<sup>79</sup> *The Wilderness Trail*, II, 202.

of the brother chiefs, King Beaver and Shingas. Many of the English and Indian prisoners taken in war were lodged there temporarily before removal to Kuskuskis or to the Muskingum. Crogan's trading post stood there, probably available for the use of Father Virot as a residence and chapel until he could get established.

Sawcunk was strategically located to take care of all the Delawares of the region. One hundred warriors with their families occupied Logstown. Ascending the Beaver River to the forks, Father Virot would have found the four villages of Kuskuskis, head of which was that of Chief Pakanke on the Mahoning branch of the Beaver, on the south side across the river from present-day Edinburg.<sup>80</sup> Still farther north was a Wyandot village of thirty warriors at Shenango (marked Shaningo's Town on Lewis Evans' map of 1755).

Father Virot's task was gigantic and important. From the point of view of the French, it was to make dependable allies of the Indians by Christianizing them and settling them in compounds after the manner of the domiciled tribes on the St. Lawrence, thus assuring control of the gateway to the West and ultimate victory for French forces. From Father Virot's point of view it was to find a haven for his Abnaki far from white civilization and to give the gospel to the Delawares. He could hardly have picked a worse time or place for his purpose. The importance that Governor-General Vaudreuil attached to his work is clearly revealed in the following letter to the minister of the colonies:

I had the honor, My Lord, to report the departure of the Jesuit to establish a mission among the tribes of the Belle Rivière. He has reached there, but at the beginning he did not have the success that his zeal made him desire. He has, nevertheless, baptized a few children and begun to instill the sentiments of Christianity in several savages. This is a work that requires time and patience. I am also exhorting this missionary not to be discouraged and to have as much perseverance as is necessary for an object of such importance.<sup>81</sup>

We know almost nothing of Father Virot's experiences on his

<sup>80</sup> The "Old Kuskuskis" appears to have been centered at the mouth of the Neshannock, site of modern New Castle. J. Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 vols., Boston, 1884-1889, V, 497, reproduces a rather inaccurate map showing "Kuskuskies," "Shingoes Town," and other Indian settlements, from *Father Abraham's Almanac*, 1761. Several maps of the region covered by this article are to be found in J. Adams, ed., *Atlas of American History*, New York, 1943.

<sup>81</sup> S. Stevens and D. Kent, eds., *Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg, 1941, 110.

mission. From statements made by Croghan and the Moravian missionary, Heckewelder, it appears that cruelties were not practised on the prisoners that were brought to Sawcunk, and we may presume that Father Virot's presence there was a contributory factor in this regard.<sup>82</sup> We do not know just when Father Virot was forced to evacuate by the ill-tempered, mercurial Pakanke. The remote cause of his action is, however, quite evident. The French position at Ft. Duquesne grew steadily weaker while the English colonies were growing in unity and strength. A large expedition under General Forbes was organized to cross Pennsylvania and attack the French at the forks of the Ohio. The Delawares, many of whom were half-hearted in support of the French from the first, began to treat with English agents, including Post at Wyoming in June of 1758. Getting rid of Father Virot would have been a first step toward withdrawing from their alliance with the French.

When Post went to the Ohio Indians in August he was at first received in a very hostile manner at Sawcunk, but finally won the friendship of the village, including the conjurer Killbuck.<sup>83</sup> He does not mention Father Virot, leaving us to conclude he must have retired to Ft. Duquesne before this time. He was probably at the fort when Grant was repulsed at Ligonier, the last bold gesture by the French.

Greatly outnumbered by Forbes' advancing army, their alliance with the Indians weakened by the diplomacy of Post and Croghan, the French burned their fort on November 24 and set off in three detachments, one going down the river to the lower Shawnee town, another up the Allegheny, and the third over land to Presqu'Isle. With the last-named group Father Virot must have marched, according to a legend handed down and recorded by Lambing:

. . . It is related that as the French retired from Ft. Duquesne when the English obtained possession of it, in November, 1758, their chaplain passed up the Beaver valley on his way to the French posts in the north-western part of the state. While doing so, he stopped at Mount Jackson in the present Lawrence County, about forty miles north-west of Pittsburgh and four from the state line, to visit an Irish Catholic family of the name of O'Brien. Having remained a short time and baptized three members of

<sup>82</sup> R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, 32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907, "Journals of Weiser, Croghan, Post, and Morris," 1: 212, note 49.

<sup>83</sup> Post's *Journal*, August 27, *ibid.*, 1: 210 f.

the family, he passed further north-east into the present Butler County, where he visited a French family of the name of Crafiere.<sup>84</sup>

The Indian spy, Captain Bull, repored priests at both Presqu'Isle and Le Boeuf in March of 1759.<sup>85</sup> One of these may have been Father Collet; the other was Father Virot. We do not know at which post Father Virot was stationed, but he certainly was at Venango early in July when De Ligneris assembled a force of a thousand French and an equal number of Indians from posts as far west as the Mississippi, for a surprise attack on Ft. Duquesne, at that time rebuilt and named Ft. Pitt. Some Abnaki were in the party, probably those who remained faithful to Father Virot on his mission. Some others had returned to Canada, as we know from Montcalm: "Some Abnaki of the Beautiful River, who had been with Father Virot to preach the Gospel to the Delawares, returned. They were bored and come to wage war here."<sup>86</sup>

At the very moment when De Ligneris in a council was intent on rousing the ardor of the Delawares for the rejuvenated French cause, a messenger interrupted the meeting with news that Niagara was under attack by a large English force and needed help.

De Ligneris rallied his forces and raced north to the rescue. The French advance was careless. Johnston's English troops lay in wait on the portage road down Lewistown Heights, below the Falls, and quickly disposed of the French reinforcements. Father Virot was seized by the Iroquois and "cut to pieces" supposedly somewhere north of Youngstown village, within a few miles of the cataract. He was the last Jesuit to be put to death in the United States.<sup>87</sup>

Circumstances brought about the failure of Father Virot's dream of an Ohio mission, but the Moravians succeeded where he failed, proving the Jesuits' contention that this people was ready for the Gospel. Some of Father Virot's former charges were among the

<sup>84</sup> A. A. Lambing, *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Pittsburg and Allegheny from Its Establishment to the Present Time*, New York, 1880, 454.

<sup>85</sup> *Colonial Records*, 7: 311, 312.

<sup>86</sup> *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, 369.

<sup>87</sup> The death of Father Virot is reported in a letter of Father Watrin in *JR*, 70: 251. The death of a priest in the siege is confirmed in intelligence of August 12, 1759, enclosed in an August 13 letter of Colonel Hugh Mercer written at Ft. Pitt to Governor Denny, in *Colonial Records*, 8: 395. The regular chaplain of the Niagara fort was captured, not killed. The site of his death is discussed by F. Severance, *An Old Frontier of France*, 2 vols., New York, 1917, II, 321.



eighty-six Christian Indians who died with prayers and hymns in the slaughter at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, by Colonel Williamson's troops in 1782. One of the victims was Glikkikan, Pakanke's chief adviser, who had disputed against the "Jesuits" at Venango and the "Romish priests in Canada," according to the Moravian chronicles.<sup>88</sup>

It only remains for us to determine the effect of the English victory and suppression of the Society of Jesus in France in 1763 on the men who had labored in Western Pennsylvania. De la Bretonnière, Baron, Déperet, and Virot were dead; Anheuser was to die in 1762. Of Father Vernet nothing is known. Fathers Collet and du Verger were laboring in the Illinois country. Father de Bonnécamp lived the longest of all, until 1790, and his last days were tragic. When his order was suppressed he was secularized. After filling a few unimportant chaplaincies, including an unauthorized ministration to refugees on the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in 1770 he declared conformity with the four propositions of the Assembly of the Clergy of France favoring the liberty of the Gallican church and went to live with a friend, De Tronjoly, admiral of the French navy, in Brittany.<sup>89</sup>

Forget du Verger, who was the Kaskaskia parish priest, when the Jesuits were driven out in 1763, sold the mission property without authorization and retired down the Mississippi with his evicted friends. However, Father Watrin, one of the refugees, writes very charitably of his company on the ocean voyage to France.<sup>90</sup>

In May, 1761, Father Luc Collet went to the parish of Ste Anne de Ft. Chartres, on the Mississippi, where he labored with Father Hippolyte in the care of the people of the fort and the nearby chapels, including Prairie du Rocher. He died at his post on September 10, 1765.<sup>91</sup> Father Meurin, the only Jesuit who had obtained

<sup>88</sup> E. De Schweinitz mentions the Venango incident in *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, Philadelphia, 1870, 355. G. Loskiel alludes to Glikkikan's disputes in Canada in *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, 3 parts, London, 1794, part 1, 46.

<sup>89</sup> Rochemonteix, II, 76 n. 1; 156, n. 2; 164 f., 168, quotes extracts from letters written by Father de Bonnécamp relative to the progress and strategy of the war.

<sup>90</sup> Watrin to —, September 3, 1764, *JR*, 70: 293.

<sup>91</sup> This is the date given by J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 4 vols., Akron, 1886-1892, II, 113, n. L. Laurent, *Québec et l'Eglise aux Etats-Unis sous Mgr Briand et Mgr Plessis*, Washington, D. C., 1945, 73, quoting the *Nécrologe* of the province of St. Joseph of the Order of Friars Minor of Canada, 124, says Father Luc died suddenly May 30, 1765, at Fort de Chartres.

permission to return to the Illinois country, writing to Bishop Briand in 1768 states that because of the danger to the Ft. Chartres cemetery from the Mississippi floods, he has caused the remains of "Monsieur Gagnon and Reverend Father Luc, a Recollect, worthy missionaries," to be removed to Prairie du Rocher, about five miles eastward.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Meurin to Briand, June 11, 1768, in *JR*, 71: 37, 45, 47 gives information on some of the activities of Father du Verger and finally, p. 39, on the translation of Father Luc's remains. On both du Verger and Collet, see also Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, II, 102, 112 f, 118.

## German Missionary Writers in Paraguay\*

### V. Martin Dobrizhoffer

Alfred Métraux, long a scholar in the ethnology of South America, has on recent occasions testified to the value of the writings of Father Martin Dobrizhoffer. In an address at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1943, he has summarized the contribution of the Austrian Jesuit.<sup>1</sup> He terms the *Historia de Abiponibus* the best known of five great books on the anthropology of the Chaco.<sup>2</sup> "During the nineteenth century it was one of the most often quoted sources in the field of the new science of anthropology and sociology. Furthermore, it remains one of the few excellent monographs on any South American tribe."<sup>3</sup> Writing at a later date in the *Handbook of South American Indians* Dr. Métraux speaks of Dobrizhoffer's work as "one of the most famous monographs ever written on any South American tribe," and as a masterpiece.<sup>4</sup>

Statements of this kind are not lacking in proof. Métraux judges that Dobrizhoffer is fairly accurate as regards the geography and history of the missions. It might be added that in matters pertaining to significant dates of his own life in the mission Dobrizhoffer is exceptionally careless, for he rarely gives an exact day and year, but in matters of historical import he puts down dates. Moreover, he cites many authorities, though he does not give the exact page in their works. In his introduction Dobrizhoffer states his

\* Through an unfortunate oversight in the preceding number of MID-AMERICA the name of the authoress of this continued article was given as Sister Angela Blankenburg instead of Sister Mary Angela Blankenburg. Editor.

<sup>1</sup> Alfred Métraux, "The Contribution of the Jesuits to the Exploration and Anthropology of South America," MID-AMERICA XXVI (July 1944), 184-186.

<sup>2</sup> Martin Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus, equestri, bellicosaque Paraguariae natione*, . . . 3 volumes, Vienna, 1784. German translation: A. Kreil, *Geschichte der Abiponer, einer berittenen und kriegerischen Nation in Paraguay*, . . . 3 volumes, Wien, 1784. English translation: Sara Coleridge, *An Account of the Abipones, an Equestrian People of Paraguay*, 3 volumes, London, 1822.

<sup>3</sup> Métraux, *loc. cit.*, 185.

<sup>4</sup> Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, *Handbook of South American Indians*, Julian H. Steward, Editor, Volume I, Part 2, "Ethnography of the Chaco," by Alfred Métraux, 206-207.

intention to conform to the rules for historical accuracy, and we find him generously giving credit to each and all of those whose works were helpful to him. Hence, as an historian Dobrizhoffer is better than one might expect for his time.

As an ethnographer, according to Métraux, "Dobrizhoffer proceeds to speak of the Abipón much as any ethnographer might do today." "His statements . . . are precise and fairly complete . . . invaluable when he deals with religion and social institutions . . . social groups . . . social psychology . . . collective neurosis."<sup>5</sup> It would seem then that the Abipón missionary was quite ahead of his time in the use of the procedures in ethnology. In fact, Father Furlong-Cardiff cites seven authoritative spokesmen for ethnology who say openly or in effect that Dobrizhoffer must be considered a pioneer or a founder of the science of comparative ethnology.<sup>6</sup>

Great as the *Historia* was in the eyes of the historians and ethnologists it apparently caught the fancy of a far wider reading public. Nor was this principally because of the attractive sub-title of the work which advertised strange places, peoples, and things in such a way as to appeal to a variety of readers. For the times in which it was written it may well have had an eye-arresting effect equivalent to the jacket or the announcement of a modern book. Thus translated it would read: "Story of the Abipónes, nation of fierce, mounted tribesmen of Paraguay, a place filled with barbarous tribes, cities, vast rivers, wild beasts, amphibians, serpents no end, fish, birds, trees, plants, and many other products, written by a missionary who has spent eighteen years in the land." Any curious mortal could find something here to interest himself, while on the sober side the budding naturalists, anthropologists, botanists, zoologists, medicos, apiarists, aviarists, and others could expect to find some observations suitable for use in their awakening sciences. Once into the book it becomes fascinating and may be read even as an adventure. To many it was a spiritual appeal and a graphic narrative of the trials of a missionary among pagans.

Not the least of the reasons for its popularity were the German and English translations. Concerning the style one feels that the

<sup>5</sup> Métraux, "Contribution of the Jesuits," *loc. cit.*, 185.

<sup>6</sup> Guillermo Furlong, S. J., *Entre los Abipones del Chaco*, Buenos Aires, 1938, 128. This remarkable work brings together what each of eight Jesuit writers of Chaco missionary fame has said about the Abipón tribes, land, habits, customs, animal, vegetable, and mineral life; besides citing Dobrizhoffer's *Historia*, Furlong publishes several letters written by him. Prior to this work a study along similar lines but pertaining to the *Historia* alone had been made, namely, Professor Dr. Walter von Hauff's *Pater Dobrizhoffer, S.J. Auf verlorenem Posten bei den Abiponen*, Leipzig, 1928.

German edition is probably the most accurate reflection of the author's personality. The German was being done even while Dobrizhoffer was preparing the final manuscript for the press.<sup>7</sup> Since it appeared in the same year as the Latin original it would seem that the translator enjoyed the personal acquaintance and even supervision of the author. A delightful sense of humor and a constant optimism break through even in the darkest, most discouraging situations. Readers unfamiliar with south-German "Gemütlichkeit" and its quaint expressions will hardly appreciate the full charm and simplicity of the narrative. Readers of the English translation of Sara Coleridge are quite aware of the readability of this beautifully executed work.

More significant and well worth a longer study are the questions why and how did the *Historia* come to be written. Father Dobrizhoffer gives the motives simply in his preface. Being frequently interrogated concerning America, he wishes to relieve others of the trouble of inquiry and himself of from that of answering questions, and secondly, he writes because he has been advised to do so by people of distinction. But definitely other reasons may be deduced from the work itself, over and above the general motive which any spiritual man and zealous missionary might have to inspire others by giving an account of his stewardship. To approximate an answer to the questions certain facts must be stated before speculation begins.

When Father Dobrizhoffer was put aboard the frigate *La Esmeralda* toward the end of March, 1768, he found himself reunited with the four outstanding missionary writers of the Chaco: Fathers José Brigniel, José Sánchez Labrador, José Jolis, and Florian Paucke, to say nothing of others.<sup>8</sup> Now these men were together on the boat for months, practically imprisoned and with nothing to do but compare notes. They sailed from Montevideo on May 16, arrived at Cádiz at the end of August, and then some were sent to Holland and others to Italy. The German-speaking fathers remained in the Franciscan convent at the port of Santa Maria until March 19, 1769. Then Dobrizhoffer with some whose names are not known but who had returned to Spain on various boats, departed for Italy by way of the Mediterranean, and from there were sent overland northward to Austria. It was only in August of 1769 that Dobrizhoffer arrived in Vienna. Hence, for more than a year

<sup>7</sup> Furlong, 127. Vicente Sierra, *Los Jesuitas Germanos en Hispano-América*, Buenos Aires, 1944, 304.

<sup>8</sup> Furlong, 180.



and a half of the return trip he was with sorrowing missionaries and well able to gather plentiful details for his future work from authorities. The great puzzle is that he does not mention his great friend Paucke. It would be a worthwhile task to compare descriptions, drawings, and maps in the works of these two great writers to find out if there was collaboration between them or if they may have come to some agreement about their respective fields of writing. Thus far it would seem that the two writers worked independently.

At the time of Dobrizhoffer's arrival in Vienna the Jesuits had been suppressed nationally in Portugal, 1759, in France, 1762, and in Spain, 1767. Now the anti-clerical ministries of these countries were bringing pressure upon the papacy to suppress the Order universally. Maria Theresa was in no mood to listen to the suggestions and urgings of the foreign ministries that she also do away with the Society of Jesus. As long as Pope Clement XIII was alive there was no compromise on the part of the papacy with the foreign ministers. But Clement XIII died on February 2, 1769, and Clement XIV became Pope in September. From this time until the papal edict suppressing the Jesuits appeared in August, 1773, the Empress Maria Theresa maintained her stand against abolishing them. During these years the Empress and her son Joseph knew of Dobrizhoffer and his work in America and were accustomed to hear from him his accounts of the Abipón.<sup>9</sup>

Father Furlong-Cardiff tells us that Dobrizhoffer lived in Vienna in the Professed House of the Jesuits and that from the very first moments of his arrival he began to work long and arduously in the ministry, preaching in St. Theresa's Church and acting as director of the congregation of working boys. We can well imagine the avidity with which boys and young men would listen to stories of Indians, and we can well surmise how these would become polished with repetition and more specific with each question asked. Thus, to the court interest in his accounts was added that of youth.

As a court preacher and speaker of note with a fund of knowledge about the new world he could not but attract the attention of the scientists and naturalists of the University of Vienna. Certainly these asked many questions that required thoughtful and detailed answers. Such would be the notable people to whom he refers in his preface as frequently asking him about America. Not the least of these would be Prince Joseph who later became Joseph II. Joseph

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

apparently had read Rousseau and became noted as a follower of the French nature-lover. The general program of the Jesuits as described in the *Historia* might have seemed to Rousseau's followers to have been an application of his philosophy, for the missionaries were accustomed to gather the natives into colonies and allow them to develop in their natural habitat. To illustrate the effects of trying to make the Indians live in the confined area of a civilized place, a city, Dobrizhoffer describes an exceedingly pathetic incident. This is at once a powerful argument for the cause of the naturalists and that of the Jesuits. It is as follows in the English version.<sup>10</sup>

Dobrizhoffer and a company of forty Indians were on a scouting expedition in the far eastern area of present Paraguay seeking savages in the woods. They discovered a footprint and traced it

to a little dwelling, where an old woman with her son and daughter, youth and maiden of twenty and fifteen years of age, had lived for many years. Being asked where other Indians were to be found, the mother replied that no mortal besides herself and her two children survived in these woods; that all the rest . . . had died long ago of small pox . . . The son observed, "You may credit my mother in her assertion without scruple; for I myself have traversed these wood far and near in search of a wife, but could never meet with a single human being." Nature had taught the young savage that it was not lawful to marry his sister.

Dobrizhoffer then exhorts them to come to his town. The mother was willing but she had three tame boars, pets, which she feared would perish in the sun. His response to this is a gem.

Pray be no longer anxious on this account, replied I; depend upon it that I shall treat these dear little animals with due kindness. When the sun is hot we will find shade wherever we are. Lakes, rivers, or marshes will be always at hand to cool your favourites.

Thereupon the three agreed to go with him.

Dobrizhoffer then describes what they gave up for their new life. It is as clever a presentation as one could wish. Their abode may be taken either as a poor hovel or as a romantic woodland home. Their hut of palm branches, their drinking water muddy, but around them fruits, antas, fawns, rabbits, birds, honey, tobacco (which the mother smoked and the son chewed), cold tea, scanty furniture, and scanty dress. Given a cloth to cover her more, the girl put it on her head to protect her from the sun, and the boy could not climb a tree or move rapidly wearing Dobrizhoffer's anti-gnat head-cloth as a dress. "In such penury I found them, experiencing the rigours of ancient anchorites, without discontent, vexation, or disease."

<sup>10</sup> *An Account of the Abipones*, I, 88-96

With the art of a novelist Dobrizhoffer makes the reader a friend of his three wood Indians.

The mother and son were tall and well-looking, but the daughter had so fair and elegant a countenance that a poet would have taken her for one of the nymphs or dryads, and any European might safely call her beautiful. She united a becoming cheerfulness with great courtesy, and did not seem at all alarmed at our arrival, but rather enlivened. She laughed heartily at *our* Guarany, and we, on the other hand, at *hers* . . . The youth had never seen a female except his mother and sister, nor any male but his father. The girl had seen no woman but her mother nor any man but her brother, her father having been torn to pieces by a tiger before she was born . . . Not to go unattended, she commonly had a little parrot on her shoulder, and a small monkey on her arm, unterrified by the tigers that haunt that neighborhood. The new proselytes were quickly clothed in the town, and served with the daily allowance of food before the rest. I also took care that they should take frequent excursions to the neighboring woods, to enjoy the shade and pleasant freshness of the trees, to which they had been accustomed. For we found by experience, that savages removed to towns often waste away . . .

The same was the fate of the mother, son, and daughter in our town.

In detail, then, Dobrizhoffer describes how they were each stricken after about three weeks in the town. The gradual lowering of their spirits, the wasted strength, and the incurable consumption which followed. The mother went first, after languishing some months. "The girl, who had entered the town full of health and beauty, soon lost all resemblance to herself. Enfeebled, withering by degrees like a flower, her bones hardly holding together, she at length followed her mother to the grave, and, if I be not much deceived, to heaven." The boy also was attacked but recovered and then was stricken with measles. Winning out over this he was in perfect health of body but not so in mind. He had visions and dreams of his mother and sister, who appeared to him each night telling him to be baptized. Dobrizhoffer was ready to shrug off the matter as of no importance, until the boy explained the dream. He promptly baptized the boy, obeying some inner impulse, at ten o'clock one morning. "On the evening of the same day, without a symptom of disease or apoplexy, he quietly expired." To this Dobrizhoffer was ready to attest under oath. Sad though he was to lose his wood Indians, he felt that they were in happiness of Heaven. The episode proved beneficial to the Spaniards also, since they went into the former home of the three Indians and found there in the course of three years many hundred thousand pounds of "the herb of Paraguay, from which they derived an amazing profit."

In this single, concrete instance Dobrizhoffer was able to illustrate the entire mission program of the Jesuits and to give with telling effect the main thesis of the *Historia*. Simply, it is this. He, and the other Jesuits, went to the wild lands to seek souls—not wealth. They found savages and brought them to civilized life and to the ultimate goal of Heaven. The adventurers and traders reaped the material profits in areas which otherwise would have been closed to them. Implied is the thought that Spain in suppressing the missionaries had cheated many tribesmen of Heaven and had deprived herself of valuable products which could not now be obtained in lands once more savage. Proofs for every part of the general trend of the *Historia* run through the pages.

Definitely, such accounts as Dobrizhoffer gave publicly during his first three years "back home" and his zealous work had much to do with the feeling of sympathy in Austria toward the Jesuits. When the papal suppression came Maria Theresa reluctantly allowed the papal brief to be published. The schools and properties of the fathers were confiscated. However, unlike the procedure in other countries, these did not get into the hands of the courtiers, or crown, or individuals, or even of the papacy. They were used to establish pensions for the suppressed fathers and brothers and for education. It is quite clear that the Empress Theresa could use such a book as Dobrizhoffer might write to support her position and as a plea to the succeeding popes for the reestablishment of the Order. It would seem then that Dobrizhoffer had a number of people in Vienna interested in seeing his words in print. Moreover, the fact that a professor was put to the task of translating it into the German vernacular even before it was published would indicate that it was wanted likewise for popular consumption throughout the Germanies.

When the papal suppression of the Society took place at the instigation of the Portuguese, French, and Spanish courts, the number of accusations against the Jesuits had grown bulky. These resolved themselves into the general accusation that the Jesuits had established Indian empires in the Americas and that these empires with their Indian militia were for trade purposes. This accusation could readily have political implications in the Germanies, since a number of the so-called empire builders in New Spain, Peru, and Paraguay were German-speaking missionaries and vassals of Austria. With smuggling going on in American and European ports and accusations being hurled around Europe by each court against the others, the Austrian court might logically feel that it was being

accused through the German-speaking missionaries of backing the contraband practices for its own ultimate gain. Therefore, while Dobrizhoffer was demolishing the idea that the Jesuits had any empire in Paraguay for their own profit, he was incidentally demolishing the implication that Austria was involved.

Dobrizhoffer is only a dozen pages out in his first volume when he unlimbers his pen against ignorant and malicious writers who term the thirty Guaraní towns "the kingdom of the Jesuits, a republic rebellious to the Catholic King."<sup>11</sup> For thirty pages in no uncertain terms he lists the falsehoods and the calumniators. It is very significant to note that he begins with the fact:

That the Jesuit missionaries have ever left Europe at the expense of the Catholic King, for the purpose of founding new colonies, and preserving the old—that they are supported by an annual stipend from the royal purse—that the Guaranis pay yearly tribute to the King—that a century before as many thousands as were appointed, fought in the royal camps without any stipend, whenever they were called upon by the royal governor . . .<sup>12</sup>

If we look carefully at the meaning of this we can see that Dobrizhoffer emphasizes the point: the Jesuits acted under royal patronage and control and therefore had no rebellious group of colonies; but beyond this there is the implication: The Jesuits were not emissaries of any other national group in their activities, and hence not Austrians in their work, but were Spanish subjects. He goes on to prove the loyalty of the Jesuits and Guaraní to the Spanish cause, exploding the favorite myth of "King Nicolás" whom the fathers were supposed to have installed over the reductions.

With the instinct of a philosopher Dobrizhoffer defines or describes all of the terms of his general thesis. He explains what Paraguay actually is; the several political and religious jurisdictions; the cities; the Guaraní mission lands; the Chaco; then he gives the products of the lands, and in detail, so much so that any astute trader or merchant or investor could tell the economic value and financial possibilities of the whole. He estimates, too, the transportation conditions, stating advantages and disadvantages. In fine, the first volumes gives almost a complete picture of the nature of the "empire" of Paraguay. The second volume presents the American Indians in general and the Abipón in particular, with constant comparisons to tribal similarities and dissimilarities. The third volume clinches the whole by presenting the first-hand account of his own experiences among the Abipón, which was then and is still con-

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 13.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 13-14.



sidered authoritative. To one looking for deeper meanings to his writing, no doubt remains about the part played by the Jesuits in preserving the cities around the Chaco by the herding of the Abipón horsemen into containing colonies.

Another item comes easily to mind at the mention of an independent republic or empire in America. During the very years in which Dobrizhoffer was writing his *Historia*, 1777 to 1783, our thirteen colonies were revolting from England. European nations were watching this eventful struggle and were more or less concerned about the likelihood of similar revolutions in their own colonies. Spain might well be worried, since minor insurrections had already occurred and furthermore there had been public tumults because of the removals of the Jesuits in 1767-1768.<sup>13</sup> Under such circumstances it required forceful writing to clear the name of the Jesuits of complicity and to remove suspicions against them and fears that their followers might organize a countermove. Dobrizhoffer does excellently in allaying all fears, although it must be admitted that by the time his books appeared the members of the Society were thoroughly scattered. Many of the 2,260 exiled from the Americas were dead or in jails; the majority of the estimated 717,000 mission Indians whom they had under their protection, were dispersed; the thousands of others in the Americas, relatives, friends, and students, remained ineffectively resentful of the Spanish and Portuguese unjust act of suppression.<sup>14</sup> It is little wonder then that books of the Dobrizhoffer type written by Jesuits though designed to exculpate the Order were at the same time an indictment of Spain and its "reformed" colonial system, and it is little wonder that colonists lost respect for the authority and judgment of the Spanish administration.

Among the calumnies refuted here and there throughout Dobrizhoffer's volumes was that of cowardice. To do away with this the missionary had to cite not only the numerous instances of bravery on the part of his companions and predecessors but also to recite instances of the perils into which he went at the risk of his life. In describing these he leaves himself open to the charge of self-glorification. After reading what he had to put up with in his years among the Abipón it is rather amusing to read his claim to be "enrolled in this class of brave men" who had shed their blood

<sup>13</sup> Charles E. Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America*, New York, 1933, 193, 215-220, especially the list of insurrections, 217, and the revolt of Tupac Amará which was in progress in 1780 and 1781.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

for the love of God and neighbor. He lists four pages of heroic men who come to his memory and at the very end mentions:

Father Martin Dobrizhoffer, whilst defending his own house and chapel against six hundred savages in the town of Rosary, had his right arm pierced with a barbed arrow, the muscle of his middle finger hurt, and one rib wounded by a savage Toba, at four o'clock in the morning on the 2d of August in the year 1765.<sup>15</sup>

This may, of course, have been inserted by an admiring editor, but his vivid description of the attack in which he came by his wounds and his own activity in the battle will remain in the memory of the reader as a fine climax to the story of the Abipón.<sup>16</sup> When Father Brigniel wrote to the Governor that the "preservation of the colony was, under God, to be attributed to my patience, vigilance, and industry," Dobrizhoffer apologies for talking about his own valor:

I should have forbore to mention this honest encomium, were it not to refute the calumnies of certain individuals, who, never having performed any praiseworthy actions themselves, are impelled by envy or malice secretly to detract from the good deeds of others, when those who might convict them of falsehood are far away.<sup>17</sup>

Despite all the probable reasons for the masterpiece which Dobrizhoffer composed, the fact remains that it is basically the overflowing of a true missionary heart. It is a document revealing a love for a benighted people from whom he was forever separated and a calling which he could not answer. Robert Southey in his poem "A Tale of Paraguay," written in 1826, shows best the effect of Dobrizhoffer's *Historia* and at the same time expresses well the feelings of the man during the years he spent in civilized Vienna on the banks of the Danube thinking of the untutored Indians of the Paraná. "And thus when exiled from the dear loved scene, in proud Vienna he beguiled the pain of sad remembrance." Unless we misjudge the tenor of the book completely, in the final analysis it is the expression of the missionary heart longing to win souls to Christianity and knowing that many souls of the Chaco were being lost again to the paganism from which they were wrenched. Dobrizhoffer ended his days in the hospital of the Brothers of Mercy in Vienna, July 17, 1791.\*

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<sup>15</sup> *An Account of the Abipones*, III, 410, 415.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, III, Chapters XLIII and XLIV, 362-382.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 383.

\* A biographical sketch of Dobrizhoffer will appear in the July MID-AMERICA. Editor.

## Notes and Comments

With the historians of the country we sorrow over the passing of Louis Pelzer. The genial Editor of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, after nearly forty years of active life as a scholar, teacher, and editor, died on June 28, 1946, at the age of sixty-seven. Tributes to his memory, which we echo wholeheartedly, appear in the *Review* of September, 1946, over the names of William C. Binkley, Ralph E. Himstead, Herbert A. Kellar, William J. Petersen, Elmer Ellis, and Philip D. Jordan. These words of his friends and colleagues are fine summaries of a life of devotion to learning and they are an invitation to the members of the historical groups to imitate a notable character.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association has chosen a capable successor to Mr. Pelzer in the office of Managing Editor. Professor Wendell H. Stephenson of the Graduate School of Tulane University has the good wishes of all members of the Association in his new task, particularly of those burdened with editorial cares.

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Dr. Harlow Lindley has retired from the editorship of *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* and James H. Rodabaugh is now acting editor. Dr. George N. Fuller, leader for twenty-five years in promoting the study and reading of Michigan's history, has closed his career as *Editor of Michigan History Magazine* and his chair is now occupied by Lewis Beeson.

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There has long been need of an anchor for scholars in history to prevent them from drifting with each new current of thought begun by the most recent novelty in world events. Historians should attempt to present the past as it actually was, as accurately as possible. The tendency has been to color the past by new approaches, rather than to elaborate the past by new findings. Thus, we have had economic approaches, technological approaches, psychological and other ideological approaches. The rounded views of man's development is frequently lost sight of by researchers seeking only certain facts to substantiate the newer approach. The techniques of the historian are in evidence but the principles of sound his-

torical scholarship are missing. This failure results from a general lack of emphasis in our universities on the fundamental course of study for all historical trainees—the course in methodology. As far as we know there is in this country no professor whose specialty and teaching field is methodology.

For many years of his long life in historical studies the late Father Gilbert J. Garraghan devoted his time to a study of historical methods. He prepared from his findings a manuscript designed for the use of teachers and students in the much neglected field. This was put in the hands of Father Jean Delanglez for editing toward publication. The work has now been published as *A Guide to Historical Method*, by Gilbert G. Garraghan, S.J., edited by Jean Delanglez, S.J., Fordham University Press, New York, 1946. It is indeed a sound study and will go far toward supplying the needed anchor for the drifting historical scholarship. Besides having the fruits of the long labors of the author we have the valuable comments of the editor, sometimes in disagreement or protest or amplification.

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An interesting brochure, *The Maya Correlation Problem*, by Maud Worcester Makemson, appears as Number 5 of the *Publications of the Vassar College Observatory*, Poughkeepsie, New York, 1946. The author originally intended to make a study of the present status of the dispute about the dates indicated on the Mayan codex. She intended to apply astronomical tests to all correlations between Mayan and Christian chronology. She emerged from her study with the discovery of a new correlation, a new hypothesis which "makes all Maya dates fall 246 days earlier than in Spinden's correlation, thus extending the Maya time-scale backward some 260 years from that of the Goodman-Thompson equation." Such a study ranks high among praiseworthy enterprises.

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*The Great Chicago Fire*, Described in Seven Letters by Men and Women Who Experienced its Horrors, and Now Published in Commemoration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Catastrophe, with an Introduction and Notes by Paul M. Angle, published by the Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, 1946, is an excellent example of editing, printing, and art work.

## Book Review

*Le Métis Canadien. Son rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest.* By Marcel Giraud. Paris: Institut d'Ethologie, 1945. Pp. lvi, 1296. Eight plates and three maps.

The opening words of the preface define the scope of the book which is to study the evolution of the Franco-Indian half-breed group, the part it has played in the history of the Canadian "Northwest," and the causes that led to its present status, both economical and social, in the western provinces of Canada. The author also deals with the Anglo-Indian half-breeds because of the scarcity of documents concerning the Franco-Indians during the early period. The "West" in this book comprises the three Prairie Provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The Valley of the Mackenzie River and the Hudson Bay basin are included because these two geographical areas are the boundaries of the territory in which the Franco-Indian half-breeds arose, grew, and declined, from the last quarter of the seventeenth century to the insurrection of 1885.

The book is divided into six parts, which are in turn subdivided into chapters; the fifth part, however, which takes nearly one-third of the work, is divided into three books of three, ten, and five chapters, respectively.

After calling attention to the different modes of life prevailing among the tribes of the Plains, of the forest, and the Barren Grounds in the high latitudes, differences which were largely determined by the physical environment, the author underlines a trait that was common to all: nomadism which bred a strong aversion to sedentary life. The conceptions of life and the psychology of the Indians had to be treated in great detail, because many of the characteristic traits of the Indians which reappear in the half-breeds help to explain the evolution of the group.

The second part treats of the penetration of the Whites into the Prairie Provinces. There were two lines of invasion, one, exclusively French Canadian from the south, from Lake Superior, the other, predominantly Anglo-Saxon from the shores of Hudson Bay. The energy of the "peddlers" as the Canadians were called by their English rivals, and above all the fact that the Canadians understood the Indians incomparably better than the English traders, counterbalanced the advantage which the latter had over their competitors from the geographical position of their posts on Hudson Bay and from the lower price and higher quality of the merchandise which they sold to the Indians.

When the Canadians began to penetrate into the territory west of Lake Superior, all their antecedents predisposed them to a closer union with the



Indians dwelling in these parts, and assimilation followed almost immediately. This explains why the southern center was, at the beginning, much more influential than the Anglo-Indian group in the north. There is very little information with regard to the time of the first appearance of the half-breed group in the north and none at all about the date of its origin in the south.

The foundation of sedentary colonies in the western plains made the Franco-Indian group aware of its strength and was the main cause of the awakening among them of national consciousness. This national consciousness was played upon by the "North-Westerns" in their struggle against their rivals: the Hudson's Bay Company. The main point emphasized in their propaganda among the half-breeds was that the colonists of Assiniboia were intruders and usurpers. The North-Westerns' success is measured by the fact that after a few years the colonists of Assiniboia were dispersed. After examining the bases of the half-breeds' nationalism, M. Giraud concludes that it had neither solid foundations nor any principle of cohesion. The unrest caused by the propaganda subsided after the arrival of Catholic missionaries who exposed and counteracted the machinations of the North-Westerns.

The first two books of part five are devoted to the history of the half-breeds in the Red River Valley; the third book deals with the half-breeds of the West among whom intense nationalism reappeared. The sixth part is entitled "the disintegration of the half-breed group," and centers around Louis Riel. One chapter is devoted to the "Provisional Government" of 1870, another to the decadence of the Red River half-breed group, and a third to the exodus to the West. The effects of the disappearance of the buffalo on those half-breeds who migrated is the subject of the fourth chapter, and the fifth deals with the revolt of 1885, which had disastrous consequences for the Franco-Indians. The last chapter of the sixth part treats of the present-day status of the half-breeds. A distinction is made between those who remained in the settlement of the Red River Valley and those half-breeds who are scattered in western Manitoba, in Saskatchewan and in Alberta. The condition of the latter is incomparably worse from every point of view.

This brief summary, necessitated by the limits of a review, gives a very inadequate idea of the contents of the book, of its wealth of information and of its absorbing interest. The book is almost wholly based on first-hand materials. The Archives Nationales of France, the Dominion Archives, the Public Record Office, the archives of the archbishoprics of Saint Boniface and of Edmonton, but especially the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company have been investigated and put to contribution. That the enormous documentation has been thoroughly mastered is evident from

the footnotes, in which every important statement in the text is supported by the testimony of contemporary actors or direct observers. No one writing on this phase of the history of Canada can afford to ignore this book, and although no historical work can be said to be definitive, it is unlikely that the subsequent writers will add much to our knowledge of the history of the half-breeds in the Prairie Provinces. All those interested in questions of ethnology will find them thoroughly treated by M. Giraud, and his penetrating observations on the psychology of the Franco-Indian half-breeds apply equally well to other groups of mixed races.

The date of publication requires a special remark. While in this country paper could only be found for novels of dubious merit and ephemeral literature, the University of Paris found ways and means of publishing in occupied territory this forty-fourth volume of its "*Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*," a volume of more than 1,300 pages on a highly specialized subject in far away Canada. Could this be an indication of the relative scale of values obtaining in France and in the United States?

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